

THE NATIONAL MAGAZINE.

VOL. XIX. DECEMBER-JANUARY, 1893-4.

NO. 2-3.

NEW YORK IN THE STAMP ACT TROUBLES, 1761-1768.

PART I.*



THE MONCKTON
ARMS.

SIR CHARLES HARDY having resigned the post of governor, the king on March 20, 1761, on the recommendation of the Earl of Halifax and the Board of Trade, appointed Robert Monckton governor and captain-general, and Cadwallader Colden lieutenant-governor. The officer now appointed as governor was a favorite in the colonies. A son of Viscount Galway, he was entitled to

the social distinction which he received in the intimacy of the high families of the province, Mr. John Watts being one of his warmest personal friends. He began his career in Flanders, and was transferred in 1753 to the American station, where he successively commanded the posts of Halifax, Annapolis Royal, and Nova Scotia, of which he had been lieutenant-governor since 1756, during which period he also commanded the Royal Americans in Loudoun's army, was engaged at the siege of Louisburg, and later was second in command to General Wolfe at the capture of Quebec. Severely wounded in this action, he was promoted colonel, and in 1761 major-general. It may here be added that, although offered a command later in the war of the Revolution, he declined to draw his sword against the colonists who had fought under his command in the French war.

General Monckton's commission reached New York by the Alcide man-of-war on October 20, 1761, and on the 26th he was sworn in as governor. He was received with great enthusiasm by

* From "The Memorial History of New York."

the people; the corporation of the city waited upon him with an address, and presented him with the freedom of the city in a gold box, at a cost of twenty-four pounds four shillings, as the minutes show. With his patent he received permission to quit the province and take command of the expediticon fitting out against Martinique. He therefore abstained from any act of authority. He declined to receive Mr. John Chamber's resignation as judge, and seems to have confined himself to accepting that of Mr. Archibald Kennedy from the council, as his age and his duties as collector of the customs were sufficient motives for withdrawal. He also recommended Mr. Joseph Reade for the vacancy on the board. On November 15 Major-General Monckton produced in council his leave of absence, and passed over the seals to Colden; but by one of those omissions not uncommon in the history of the colonies, the king's instructions to Governor Monckton, although mentioned in his commission, did not arrive with it. The lieutenant-governor had called upon him to produce the missing document, and seemed inclined to question the legality of his assuming the office at all; a course which was neither approved by the council nor by the public at large. The feeling of disapprobation was silently displayed by the omission of the lieutenant-governor's name from the addresses and congratulations of public bodies, the judges, the bar, the grand jury and others.

In the king's instructions to Sir Charles Hardy, Governor Monckton's predecessor, and like him authorized to quit his government on the business of his Majesty's forces, directions were given that in such case one full moiety of the salary and of all perquisites and emoluments of the post should be paid to the lieutenant-governor. It must be held in mind that while the governor resided in the province the lieutenant-governor had neither salary nor emolument of any kind. It had been Monckton's intention to abandon his share to Colden, and he had ordered the preparation of a legal instrument of transfer, but, irritated by Colden's captious attitude in the matter of the instructions, he changed his mind and in writing demanded of Colden a surrender of his claim. Colden demurred, making a general promise to comply with the king's instructions when they should arrive. Colden openly told the governor that he hoped that the instructions would give to himself the whole perquisites. Monckton was on the point of suspending the lieutenant-governor without ceremony when mutual friends

arranged covenants and a tripartite indenture between the two officers and Mr. Banyar, the secretary of the council. Monckton insisted that all perquisites should pass into Banyar's hands, and required bonds from Colden and Banyar for their faithful performance of the covenant, and stipulated that the accounts should be rendered on oath. On November 14 the fleet of one hundred sail—convoys by the Alcide, of sixty-four guns; the Devonshire, of seventy-four; two of fifty, and one of forty guns—left Sandy Hook for Martinique. The government now again devolved on Colden.

Mr. Colden's second administration of the affairs of the province was closed by the return of General Monckton from the conquest of Martinique on June 12, 1762. He immediately assumed the reins of government and entered upon its duties with a personal prestige of the highest character. The health of General Monckton making it advisable for him to leave the province for a time, he sailed for England on June 28, again delivering the seals to Colden, and leaving his private affairs in the charge of his intimate personal friend, John Watts.*

Nothing of importance took place after Monckton left until Mr. Colden called the assembly together, on September 5, 1764. To the trite suggestions of his opening speech the assembly replied in an address which was the signal note of the coming contest. It ran in part :



Thomas Jones

Nothing can add to the pleasure we receive from the information your Honour gives us that his Majesty our most gracious sovereign distinguishes and approves our

* Smith's "History of New York" closes with the return of Monckton from the conquest of Martinique. There is no further history by any contemporary of Colden, except that by Chief-Justice Thomas Jones, written after the Revolution, and recently published by the New York Historical Society.

conduct. When his service requires it we shall ever be ready to exert ourselves with loyalty, fidelity and zeal, and, as we have always complied in the most dutiful manner with every requisition made by his directions, we with all humility hope that his Majesty who is and whose ancestors have long been the guardians of British liberty will so protect us in our rights as to prevent our falling into the abject state of be-

ing forever after incapable of doing what can merit his distinction or approbation. Such must be the state of that wretched people who (being taxed by a power subordinate to none and in a great measure unacquainted with their circumstances) can call nothing their own.

We hope your Honour will join us in an endeavor to secure that great badge of English liberty of being taxed only with our own consent to which we conceive all his Majesty's subjects at home and abroad equally entitled; and also in pointing out to the ministry the many mischiefs arising from the act commonly called the Sugar Act both to us and to Great Britain. Your Honour

Boston May 9th 1766
Gentlemen

*As there are many more
belonging to this Shallop
for Shallop, Regt I had have
not as yet I send it - You will
in case any number should
come - I shall be glad to have
a Transport putting on board
on board for their passage &
Dispatch it to Town one at
Chargers - sending by the
same opportunity the remaining
Bills - And I send as before
Orders - I am*

*J. M^r
Anthony Hancock
of Frying*

*Gentlemen
your Hum^{ble} Serv^t
Robert Mather*

THE MONCKTON LETTER.

may depend on our giving all due attention to the support of Government and that by the punctual discharge of our public debts the irreproachable credit of this Colony will be maintained.

This significant address was reported by Philip Livingston, member for the city, whose name appears on the journals of the assembly as alderman, from his having held the office of alderman

of the East Ward from 1754 to 1762. In replying to it, Colden stated that as the material parts could not with any propriety be made to himself, he should transmit it to more proper judges of the sentiments they adopted.

Meanwhile, in the privacy of their committee-rooms, and, as Colden directly asserts in his letter to the lords commissioners, in a secrecy from himself which he did not think it requisite for himself to inquire into, the assembly prepared petitions to the king and to the houses of lords and commons. The assembly were no longer content to deal with Great Britain through its representative authorities here. They carried their grievances to the mother-country and to the foot of the throne. To account for the intense feeling aroused in the colonies by the attitude of the British ministry, a brief summary of the Seven Years' War is necessary. The memory of this great struggle is still fresh, after the lapse of nearly a century and a half, in the towns of New England and the Middle States which were then border settlements. Many a family preserves the old King George musket and the heavy saber which were the arms of some forefather on one of the hundred fields of this close contest.

While a nominal peace still existed in Europe, there was a smoldering border struggle along the line of the English settlements in America, which broke into flame when the French began to tighten the interior cordon which inclosed the colonies from the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi; a cordon doubly dangerous because it included the savage tribes who were under the influence of the French. The building of a post by Du Quesne, the governor of Canada, at the junction of the Monongahela and Alleghany rivers, was the immediate cause of hostilities. Washington, then a youth of twenty-two, was sent by the Virginia government with a regiment of colony troops to drive them out. Met by a superior force of French and Indians, the Virginians were forced to surrender. The news reaching England, Braddock was sent out with a few regiments of British regulars to support the British claims. On his arrival a convention of colonial governors assembled at his request in Virginia, and a plan of military movements was concerted. Of the three operations he reserved for himself the attack on Fort Du Quesne. The disaster from which Washington with difficulty saved a fragment of the army had far-reaching effects; one of which was to teach the colonists that in a

conflict with Indian antagonists they were the superiors of their well-trained but inexperienced British cousins.

The capture of Fort Mahon in Minorca, the key of the Mediterranean, by the Duc de Richelieu with a French force; the withdrawal of the British fleet sent to the relief of this post by Admiral Byng; and the equally disgraceful retreat of the Duke of Cumberland with an army of fifty thousand men, raised for the defense of Hanover, before a French force, aroused and alarmed the people of England. Great emergencies develop strong characters and bring to the front great men. In this dire stress England found a man and a character equal to the demand; a man who embodied all those types which, strong and unlovely though they be, combine to form a great English statesman. Such was William Pitt, the great commoner, foremost of Englishmen since Cromwell.

The contest, as has already been stated, began in America. The fight at Fort Du Quesne was the initial movement in the great struggle, which was immediately to change the face of America, and ultimately of the political world on both continents. The several successful campaigns in the Canadas have been briefly summed up, the war continuing with unabated vigor, but with varied success, till the fall of Quebec.* The spirit which the magic power of Pitt in-



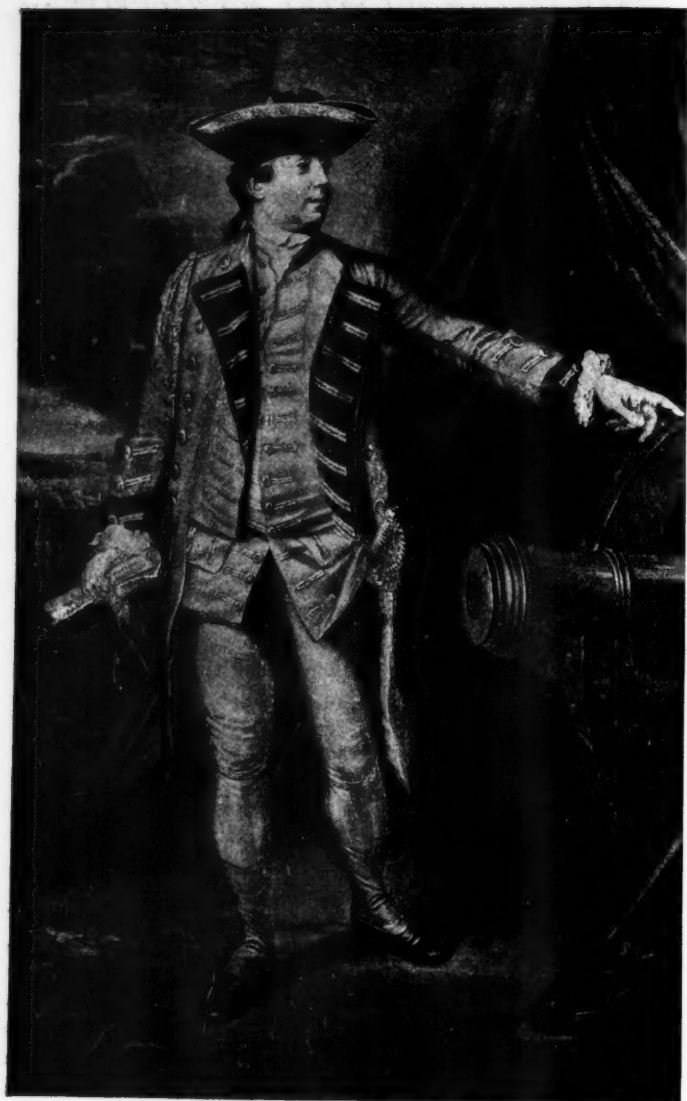
* Series of glorious victories from the beginning of hostilities in 1755: The expedition of that year of General Winslow against the French and Nova Scotia, with an army of provincials chiefly; of 1758 against Louisburg and the islands of Cape Breton, under Admiral Boscawen and General Amherst; against Frontenac by Colonel Bradstreet, with regulars and provincials detached from General Abercrombie's army; of General Forbes against Fort Du Quesne, with regulars and provincials; of General Prideaux and Sir William Johnson, with regulars and provincials, against Niagara, in 1759; of General Amherst, the same year, against Ticonderoga and Crown Point, with regulars and provincials; and of General Wolfe against Quebec, and the final capture of Montreal by General Amherst, with regulars and provincials, which completed the conquest of the Canadas.

fused into the colonies appears in the alacrity with which they voted men and money and supplies of war. Dr. Franklin states that the number of Americans, or provincial troops, employed in the war was greater than that of the regulars, and that the colonies raised, paid, and clothed nearly twenty-five thousand men, a number equal to those sent from Great Britain, and far beyond their proportion. In a letter from Boston of December 18, 1766, preserved in a newspaper extract in a curious volume entitled "Lord Chatham's Clippings," it is stated that the Royal Americans engaged in the single campaign which resulted in the capture of Quebec amounted to fifteen thousand men. Little wonder, therefore, that Pitt should hold himself the unflinching friend of the hardy colonists who had made his victory possible; for without their aid, under the material conditions of the last century, the Canadas could not have been wrested from the grasp of France. In the spring of 1762 the French ministry, disheartened by defeat, and at a loss for means to continue the war, made overtures for peace. In November the treaty was signed at Paris by England and Portugal on the one hand, and the Bourbon houses of France and Spain on the other. To England were ceded all the French possessions in America, the Spanish possessions of Florida, all Louisiana to the Mississippi, except New Orleans, which France transferred to Spain in consideration of the cession of the Floridas, on which England insisted to complete the Atlantic border of the colonial settlements.

Nowhere was the glorious peace hailed with more patriotic joy than in the American colonies; not alone because it brought to an end the border warfare with its aggravations of savage cruelty, but because it was the triumph of England, that mother-country with whose every heart-beat their own pulses throbbed in unison.

The peace was ratified on February 10, 1763. The joy of the colonists was dashed by the dread which had grown upon them of serious encroachments on their own rights and liberties since the enforced retirement of Pitt. They seem to have been perfectly aware of the nature of the threatening contest. One of the colonial governors, Hutchinson of Massachusetts—like Colden, a subservient upholder of the royal prerogative,—said: "A good peace with foreign enemies would enable us to make a better defence against our domestic foes."

In February, 1763, the Earl of Bute, in prosecution of a well



Robt Monckton

matured plan, removed Lord Sandys from the board of trade and put Charles Townshend, an ambitious statesman, able and unscrupulous where his ambition was at stake, in his place. Although holding only the office of first lord of trade, Townshend had also a seat in the cabinet, counseled the king in person on administration affairs, and, while the self-willed Egremont still held the nominal control, Townshend became the actual secretary of state for the colonies.

On March 9, 1763, Townshend introduced the first part of the scheme for taxing America by act of parliament. The supplies demanded for the first year of peace alarmed the House of Commons, and they were eager for any method of relief. It was shown that the duty on the trade of the American colonies with the French and Spanish West Indies was ineffectual because prohibitory; and in a general way that the collection of a colonial revenue of two thousand pounds cost the customs department in Great Britain between seven and eight thousand a year. The fact was lost sight of that this difference passed into the pockets mainly of the government officers who held these sinecures. Indeed it may be here asserted that the system of British colonial government was a system of plunder by the officials of each home administration in turn. Townshend's plan was to reduce the duty, but rigidly to enforce its collection. Although the plan of an act further to raise revenue by stamps was at this time indubitably in the minds of the ministry (the amount to be raised to be sufficient to support the army establishment in America), it was not as yet declared. It was Grenville's share to bring forward a bill for the enforcement of the navigation laws, authorizing the employment of ships of the navy and turning its officers and seamen into customs authorities and informers.

These arrangements were supplemented by an act of parliament establishing a standing army in America. This was the last important act of Bute's administration. In April the seals were given to George Grenville, and the administration of affairs fell into the hands of a triumvirate of which he was the head, as chancellor of the exchequer, while Egremont and Halifax were secretaries of state. Jenkinson, Bute's efficient assistant, became principal secretary of the treasury.

The details of American administration now fell to Halifax, whose experience was large, and the new measures were rapidly

brought forward. On the morning of September 22, 1763, three lords of the treasury, with George Grenville at their head, held a meeting at their council-board in Downing street, and adopted a minute directing Jenkinson, the first secretary of the treasury, to "write to the Commissioners of the Stamp Duties to prepare the draft of a bill to be presented to Parliament for extending the stamp duties to the colonies." This order was at once executed. Mr. Bancroft, in his account of this period, asks the question, "Who was the author of the American Stamp Act?" Jenkinson said later in the House of Commons that "if the Stamp Act was a good measure the merit of it was not due to Grenville; if it was a bad one the ill policy did not belong to him." But he never informed the house, nor indeed any one else during his life, who



OLD BLUE BELL TAVERN.

was its author. Bancroft relieves Bute from the charge; but Lord North, who supported the act, said in the House of Commons that he took the propriety of passing it from Grenville's authority. In point of fact, the first proposition to tax the colonies by means of stamped paper was made by Lieutenant-

Governor Clarke of New York, in 1744, to the lords of trade; but Governor Clinton, in a letter to the Duke of Newcastle on December 13 of that year, doubted the expediency of the measure, as being contrary to the spirit of the people, "who are quite strangers to any duty but such as they raise themselves."

Grenville's proposal, made on March 9, to draw a revenue from America by stamps, and his notice that a bill would be introduced at the next session, crystallized public opinion on both sides of the ocean. On his challenging the opposition in the Commons to deny the right of parliament, no voice was lifted in reply, and the next day it was resolved that such right existed and that its exercise was proper. It is true that the house was thin and the hour late, and that the declaration of the minister was only of intention.

But if the crystallization of opinion in England united all parties, including the friends of America, in defense of the right of parliament to impose taxes on the colonies, that same process united all parties in America in the denial of that right, and in the assertion of the doctrine which had been claimed in the New York colony since 1683, that taxation without representation was a wrong and an injustice to which no freeman would submit. Nor yet, in view of the menace of the twenty regiments of British soldiers to be sent over and quartered in the chief cities, were they willing to avoid the issue or postpone it by assenting in advance to the proposed act, as was suggested by their "well wishers" abroad. There was still a faint hope that by earnest representation of the agents of the colonies abroad and by respectful petition to the king and parliament the blow might be averted.

The assembly of New York was the first to petition the king and parliament in a respectful representation on October 18, 1764. After a declaration of inviolable fidelity, they recited "that in the three branches of the political frame of Government established in the year 1683, viz., the Governor, a Council of the Royal appointment, and the representatives of the People, was lodged the legislative authority of the Colony, and particularly the power of taxing its inhabitants for the support of the Government; that the people of the Colony consider themselves in a state of perfect equality with their fellow-subjects in Great Britain, and as a political body enjoying like the inhabitants of that country the exclusive right of taxing themselves; a right which whether inherent in the people or sprung from any other source has received the Royal Sanction, is at the basis of our Colony State, and become venerable by long usage; that the Representatives for the Colony of New York cannot therefore without the strongest demonstrations of grief express their sentiments on the late intimation of a design to impose taxes on the Colonies by laws to be passed in Great Britain and they invite the King to interpose his prerogative on the unconstitutional law." On the same day, and by the same resolution in which the transmission of these memorials was ordered, the assembly created a committee to correspond with the several assemblies on the American continent upon the several objectionable acts of parliament lately passed with relation to the trade of the northern colonies, and also on the subject "of the impending dangers which threaten the Colonies of being taxed by

laws to be passed in Great Britain." William Bayard, a member of this committee of correspondence, visited Boston to confer with the Massachusetts assembly, which on the 22d of the same month adopted a petition in the same direction but less vigorous in text and spirit.

Early in the year 1765 Grenville introduced his bill into the House of Commons. It contained fifty-five articles relating to stamp duties in America, and passed the house on February 7. Previous to its passage the American agents were advised that if the colonies would propose any other means of raising the required revenue the stamp duty would be deferred or laid aside. To this they had no authority to make answer. The bill was approved by the House of Lords in March, without debate, and on March 22 received the king's signature.

The news of the passage of the act reached New York in April, and aroused a storm of indignation—a storm tempered by the consoling information that there was a large body in England whose sympathies were with the colonies. The English advices of May brought word that "without doors we hear every person at all qualified to form any judgment of the matter seemed in favor of the Colonies." When the news reached New York, the assembly was in recess. In Virginia the House of Burgesses was sitting. On May 29 they replied with a series of resolutions, firm in expression, declaratory of their rights and of the unconstitutionality of the measure. It was during the debate on this occasion that Patrick Henry used the memorable words which electrified the continent and in their bold utterance sufficed to make his name immortal. The people of Pennsylvania showed themselves no less jealous of their rights. On April 14 the great guns at the fort and those at the barracks in New York were spiked; a sufficient declaration of the popular temper. And now each incoming packet brought accounts of the growing strength of a sentiment in England in favor of the bold attitude of the colonies. The news arrived of the stirring words of Colonel Barré, the brave companion of Wolfe at the capture of Quebec, in answer to the assumption of Townshend that the colonists were "children of England's planting." "The Americans are Sons of Liberty," retorted Barré in a tone which shook the house.

In comment on this and declarations similar in nature if less vigorous in expression, the press of the colonies took up the phrase.

On May 30 the author of the "Sentinel" series of letters in the "New York Gazette," took Liberty as his text. Interspersed among the didactic phrases which were the fashion of the day are some strong, homely sentiments. "In proportion as Liberty is precious to us should we hold them dear who lift up their hands in defence of it and abhor those who impiously dare attempt to rend it from us." It closed with some verses more patriotic than poetical, but which are a fair sample of the popular rhyme of the period :

Cursed be the man who e'er shall raise
His sacrilegious hand
To drive fair liberty, our praise !
From his own native land.

O may his memory never die,
By future ages curst ;
But live to lasting infamy,
Branded of traitors worst.

The history of revolutions shows the power of a phrase. That of Barré struck the strongest chord in the colonial heart. Associations sprung up instantly in every colony under the magic name of Sons of Liberty. The word independence was not as yet breathed aloud, but that the idea was already in the germ appears from a London letter of February 18, 1765, published in Charleston, South Carolina, on April 24, and repeated in New York in May : "Several publications from North America have lately made their appearance here (London) in which the independency of the Colonies is asserted in pretty round terms."

This faction, as Colden terms it, was led in the beginning by the great jurists James Alexander and William Smith the elder, whose mantle of judicial and popular leadership had fallen in the next generation upon William Livingston, William Smith the younger, and John Morin Scott. These three gentlemen, whom Jones styles the young triumvirate, were educated at Yale College. Determined as early as 1752 to pull down church and state, continues Jones, in his savage anathema, and to raise their own government and religion upon its ruins, the triumvirate formed a

club, under the appellation of the Whig Club, which met once in each week at the popular tavern of the King's Arms.*

At this Whig Club, says Jones also, the usual and customary toasts drunk were "the immortal memory of Oliver Cromwell, of Hugh Peters, of General Ludlow," and others of the regicides. They had an organ in the "Independent Reflector."

From an early date (1760) there had been a resolute resistance by the seamen of the colonies to the nefarious practice of impressment from the market and wood boats, and from the merchantmen which visited our harbors, nowhere more determined than at the port of New-York.† In 1764 four fishermen were pressed from their vessels and carried on board a tender from a man-of-war on the Halifax station. Next day, the captain of the tender venturing on shore, the boat was suddenly seized and dragged through the streets to the middle of the green in the Fields (City Hall Park), where it was burned and destroyed. Meanwhile the captain was escorted quietly to the coffee-house which stood on the southwest corner of Wall and Queen (later Water) streets, where he disclaimed all responsibility for the seizure and gave an order for the release of the fishermen. From the suddenness of the appearance, the orderly determination, and the equally sudden disappearance of the crowd or mob or gathering, which are noted in the recital of this affair, Dawson claims, and not unfairly, that they were an organized body; "minute men," he calls them. But the Sons of Liberty was an institution of a more permanent character and a more defined organization than can be discerned in the ephemeral actions cited.

In the months of June and July news arrived of the appointment of stamp agents for the several colonies, and of the official announcement that the act would be enforced on November 1. As the sentiment of resistance was general, a concert of action by the several colonies was a natural corollary. Priority in a demand

* Contemporary authority places the tavern under this sign in Broad street, near the Long Bridge, under the management of Richard Cooke in 1750. In 1754, the sign was hanging at the same place, then described as opposite the Royal Exchange. In 1757, the tavern kept by Cooke appears in the public prints as the Gentlemen's Exchange Coffee House. This building was on the northeast corner of Broad and Dock (now Pearl) streets, opposite the well known Fraunces' Tavern, and was pulled down in 1890. In 1764 the old sign was carried by Edward Barden to the upper end of Broadway, facing the Commons. The King's Arms was evidently the great Whig resort.

† In that year the crew of the Sampson of Bristol, refused to obey the signal guns of H. M. S. Winchester to bring to; and, firing upon the man-of-war's barge on attempting to board her, a number of men were killed. The Sampson fortunately got into harbor, and the men escaped; the people protecting them and concealing them from the reach of the sheriff and the detachment of militia ordered to his assistance.

so universal cannot be safely claimed, nor yet to which individual in the several committees of correspondence the credit of suggesting it is due. The House of Representatives of the Massachusetts Bay brought the subject to a focus by agreeing to a committee of representatives or of burgesses on the condition of the colonies, to consider of a dutiful, loyal, and humble representation to his Majesty and parliament for relief. This meeting was set for the first Tuesday in October, and New-York was designated as the place of assemblage.

New-York was naturally selected for the place of meeting as the most convenient because it was the geographical, political, and commercial center of the colonies, accessible by water as by land. It must not be forgotten that every one of the original thirteen colonies was a seaboard settlement: each with a seaport of its own; each with its direct communication with England for commerce, and each with some coastwise trade; each independent, and jealous of its independence of the others; and each loyal in its own measure to the parent government, as its own interests were consulted in the enforcement or the relaxation of the laws of trade. While each, therefore, might have stood ready to take its chances against its neighbors, even under their onerous exactions, the idea of a danger which they must suffer or avert in common naturally brought them together, and there was no thought of local jealousy when New-York was chosen as the meeting place for the most important assemblage known in their history. New-York was the natural center of influence. Her geographical position, midway between the more populous settlements to the eastward and southward, which the broad Hudson and the great bay at its mouth divided, was the natural key to the continent. The exposed situation of her northern border to French and Indian invasion had been a concern at all times to all the colonies. Upon her safety hung the entire system of English settlements. Moreover no colony was in such direct sympathy with England. It must be remembered that it was an English conquest, not an English colonial settlement, and as such was more in touch with the ideas of the England of that day than its neighbors of New England or of Pennsylvania. New-York was a purely commercial city whose life was English trade; most of her merchants were Britons born or in close relation with their kindred across the sea. Favored beyond any of the provincial cities by its climate, the charm of its natural scenery, the variety and abundance of food, native and

tropical, of water and land supply, and already the seat of a thriving trade, it was the coveted post of British officials. Here they found church and state very much as at home; a wealthy class whose manners and habits were formed on the easy home pattern, whose residences and tables compared with any of those even of the richest English gentry, and whose native British roughness had been tempered by a reasonable infusion of Dutch and Huguenot blood.

THIS CHURCH WAS BUILT BY THE CONGREGATION
OF THE REFORMED PROTESTANT DUTCH CHURCH IN
THE CITY OF NEW YORK FOR ENGLISH SERVICE UNDER THE
INSPECTION OF A COMMITTEE OF

ELDERS	DEACONS
PETER MARSCHALK	ISAAC ROSEVELT
PETER LOTT	ADRIAN BANCER
CORN ^S BOGERT	ANDREW MARSCHALK
THEODORUS VAN WYCK	GARRET ABEEL

ANDREW BREESTED I^R CARPENTER AND PROJECTOR
JOHN STAGO MASTER. MASON AND ALEX BATES
THE FIRST STONE WAS LAID JULY 2 1767 BY
MR JACOBUS ROSEVELT SEN ELDER
THE WALLS BUILT TO RECEIUE THE ROOF JUNE 17 1768
THESE PILLARS REARED JUNE 21 1768
THE FIRST ENGLISH MINISTER FOR THE DUTCH
CONGREGATION THE REV^D ARCHIBALD LAIDLIE 1764
PEACE BE WITHIN THIS SACRED PLACE
AND HOLY GIFTS AND HEAVENLY GRACE
TOBIAS VAN ZANDT CLERK CAEEL FECIT

DUTCH CHURCH INSCRIPTION, 1769.

Communication with home was constant by the well appointed packets, and in almost every journal of the day notice may be found of "gentlemen intending for England," or of the return of some well-known traveler. New-York was therefore the natural choice for the meeting of the colonial committee.

It may be stated here that the colonies were as conscious of their power as of their rights. The white male population between sixteen and sixty years of age of the entire territory was estimated at the time at three hundred thousand: a force, when combined, quite sufficient for any and all purposes of defense against any enemy

from across the sea. The right of petition has always been jealously guarded as the dearest of popular rights; the right of complaint of the governed to the authorities who govern, no matter under what form. Hence the suppression of the petition from the New York and Massachusetts assemblies by the privy council of the king was looked upon as a serious outrage and a dangerous infringement of their rights. Such a thing would not have been attempted in case of a petition from Englishmen, and the colonists met the indignity with impatient alarm. They were not of a spirit to brook the idea

of inferiority to the parent race.

At first the people seemed hardly to comprehend the gravity of the blow struck at their liberties.

John Morin Scott, in three masterly papers which appeared in "the licentious sheet" (Holt's "New York Gazette," the liberal organ), on June 9, 13 and 27, under the signature of "Freeman," startled the people to the consequence of non-resistance, against which Livingston had entered his warning ten years before. Bancroft seems uncertain as to the



THE NORTH DUTCH CHURCH, 1769.

authorship of these letters of "Freeman." He agrees that Scott seems most likely to have written them. But Dawson has no hesitation in his ascription of them to Scott, though he gives no authority. Bancroft makes frequent quotations from their significant passages. "It is not the tax," said he, "it is the unconstitutional manner of imposing it, that is the great subject of uneasiness to the colonies." He charged that "the taxation of America is arbitrary and tyrannical, and what the Parliament of England had no right to impose;" and further, drawing his conclusions from his close premises, he says, "If then the interest of the Mother Country and her Colonies cannot be made to coincide, if the same Constitution may not take place in both, if the welfare of the Mother Country necessarily

requires a sacrifice of the most valuable natural rights of the Colonies: their right of making their own laws, regulating their own affairs and disposing of their property by representation of their own choosing—if such is really the case between Great Britain and her Colonies, then the connection between them ought to cease; and sooner or later it must inevitably cease. The English Government cannot long act towards a part of its dominions upon principles diametrically opposed to its own without losing itself in the slavery it would impose upon the Colonies or learning from to throw it off and assert their freedom. There never can be a disposition in the Colonies to break off their connection with the Mother Country so long as they are permitted to have the full enjoyment of those rights to which the English Constitution entitles them. . . . They desire no more; nor yet can they be satisfied with less." In his text Scott called this the "Land of Liberty." This bold assertion of the rights, this bold declaration of the intentions of the Americans, was "caught up," says Bancroft, by the impatient colonies, and formed part of the instruction of South Carolina to her agent in England.

And while the thoughtful were thus addressed through the press, the streets abounded in pamphlets and squibs, and the stamp act itself was hawked about as "The folly of England and the ruin of America."

As the summer waned the popular indignation waxed stronger. On the morning of August 14, two effigies were seen suspended from a branch of the Great Tree, one of the large elms on Hanover Square, in the town of Boston. One was labeled "Distributor of Stamps." After hanging all day they were toward evening cut down and carried in procession to a building newly erected and belonging to Mr. Oliver, the stamp officer for the Massachusetts province, which was sacked and destroyed. Mr. Oliver took the warning, and the next morning resigned his office. This example was followed in the other colonies. Ingersoll at New Haven engaged to reship the stamps or leave them to the disposal of the people. Later he was hanged in effigy, at Norwich. Johnston at Newport was burned in effigy and resigned. Coxe, in New Jersey, unable to hire an office, threw up his commission. Colden's letter to Sir William Johnson is authority for the action taken in New York. "Yesterday, August 30th, James McEvers (who had accepted the office of Distributor of Stamps and

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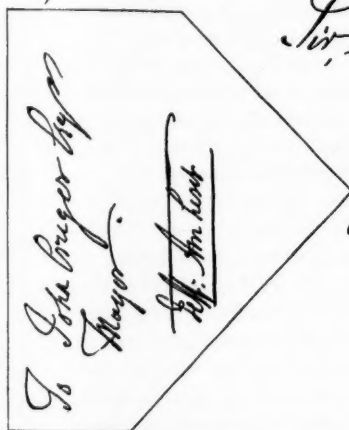
Sir,

New York, 10th August 1763.

As I am Fitting out some Transports for Immediate Service, & that the Carpenters Employed on them will not Venture to Work to-morrow without a Licence from You; I should be very glad you would give them Permission, as it is of real Consequence to the King's Service, that those Vessels are got Ready with the utmost Expedition.

I am,

Sir,



Your most Obedt Servant
Jeff: Amherst.

John Cruzer Esq.
Mayor of the City of New York &

entered into bonds) sent me his resignation of the office, being terrified by the sufferings and ill usage the Stamp Officer met with in Boston and the threats he has received at New York."

In September the idea of union took definite shape. A broadside entitled the "Constitutional Courant," secretly printed in New Jersey, was widely circulated in New-York, and later reprinted here and in Boston. It bore as a head-piece the device of a snake cut in parts to represent the colonies, with the motto "Unite or die," the familiar symbol used by Dr. Franklin in his "Pennsylvania Gazette," in 1754, to arouse the colonies to the danger of the French invasion. Copies of the "Courant"



were handed about the streets of New-York by Lawrence Sweeney, an eccentric character, better known by his sobriquet of "Bloody News," from his familiar cry announcing the army news during the sanguinary French war. When asked by Colden where he obtained the paper, he humorously answered "From Peter Hasenkliwer's iron works,* please your Honor." The next day the "Courant" took up the joke, and gravely announced that it was there printed. Colden sent a copy of it to Secretary Conway, and advised him that bundles of them had been delivered by James Parker, secretary to the general post-office in North America, by whom it was believed to have been printed, and that it had been distributed along the postroads of the post riders. Songs were written for the Sons of Liberty. The temper of the city was so high that even Colden wrote to the home government that he agreed with the gentlemen of the council that it was not a proper time to prosecute the printers and publishers of the seditious papers. Indeed, the attorney-general had told him that he did not think himself safe to command any such prosecution.

During this exciting period General Monckton remained in London, and was kept well informed of events as they happened on this side of the water. Like his companion at Quebec, Colonel Barré, he was not in favor of the oppressive measures. In time he formally resigned, and Sir Henry Moore was appointed to succeed him in the New-York government. Those acquainted with

* Peter Hasenkliwer was an enterprising character about the middle of the eighteenth century. He established the iron works in East Jersey. The property is now owned and occupied by ex-Mayor Abram S. Hewitt.

Moore's character, public and private, were pleased with the appointment. He had served the crown as governor of Jamaica, and was knighted for his conduct in the suppression of an insurrection of the slaves in that island. As September drew to a close, Colden seems to have grown somewhat uneasy, and wrote to the new governor that nothing could give him more pleasure than his presence in the city. Watts describes him as terrified at the mobs which now ruled the town, and the fort as armed beyond what it had ever been before: "Howitzers on the curtains, cannon facing the gates and the Broadway, as if Montcalm was at King's Bridge." So full was Fort George that Colden wrote to Governor Franklin of Pennsylvania, who had asked a lodgment for the stamps for that province in the fort, that there was no place for them but in the governor's house, and recommended that they be put on one of the king's frigates in port. His own arrangements he thus describes: "I desired the Captains of His Majesty's Ships of War now in the river to protect the ship in which they should come. For this purpose a sloop was placed at Sandy Hook and a frigate midway between that and this place, while the Coventry lay before the town."

Early in the month news had reached the colonies of a change in the ministry. There was great rejoicing in Boston. The great elms venerated for their antiquity were decorated with the emblems of England, the colors embroidered with mottos; and, with cheers and military salutes, a copperplate on which was stamped in golden letters the legend, "The Tree of Liberty, August 14, 1765," was placed on the tree where the effigies had hung on that day. This appears to have been the first liberty tree, but the custom of stripping a tall tree of all but its topmost branches, beneath which the national standard waves, has not yet died out in the villages of the country.

The stamped paper now began to arrive; the first instalment, destined for New Hampshire, reached Boston early in September. A few days later a ship arrived in Boston with fourteen boxes, but was compelled to seek safety under the guns of the castle and in the guard of a sloop of war and a cutter. Those for Philadelphia arrived on October 5. The ship lay off Newcastle on the Delaware, under similar protection. As it rounded Gloucester Point the colors of the vessels in the harbors were lowered to half-mast, and the bells of the city were tolled. A mass-meeting was held, and



Hughes, the stamp-master, compelled to engage that he would not execute the office.

The delegates to the congress—the "Stamp Act Congress," as it is known in history—began to arrive in New-York early in October. The first was the committee from South Carolina. When the question of its appointment came up in the assembly, says Ramsey, it was thus ridiculed by a humorous member: "If you agree to the proposition of composing a Congress of deputies from the different British Colonies, what kind of a dish will you make? New England will throw in fish and onions; the Middle States, flax-seed and flour; Maryland and Virginia will add tobacco; North Carolina, pitch, tar, and turpentine; South Carolina, rice and Indigo; and Georgia will sprinkle the whole composition with saw dust. Such an absurd jumble will you make if you attempt to form a union among such discordant materials as the thirteen British provinces." To which a country member retorted: "He would not choose the gentleman who made the objections for his cook, but, nevertheless, he would venture to assert that if the colonies proceeded judiciously in the appointment of deputies to a Continental Congress, they would prepare a dish fit to be presented to any crowned head in Europe." On Monday, October 7, the congress met in the City Hall. There were present delegates from nine colonies, viz.: Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence plantations, Connecticut, New-York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the government of the counties of Newcastle, Kent, and Suffolk upon Delaware, Maryland, and South Carolina. Of these only six were duly authorized committees appointed by the legislatures within the terms of the call. As the New-York assembly had not been in session for a long period, the committee of correspondence chosen at its last session was admitted to represent the province. These were John Cruger, Robert R. Livingston, Philip Livingston, William Bayard, and Leonard Lispenard—an able and fearless body. The South Carolina and Connecticut delegates were restricted in their action by their assemblies. Virginia and North Carolina were not represented; their assemblies having been prorogued by the governors. The Georgia assembly were enjoined by their governor from sending a committee. New Hampshire wrote that they were not in a position to send delegates. Among the twenty-eight members who appeared were many whose names were familiar throughout the colonies: Cruger and the



Livingstons of New-York, Otis of Massachusetts, Johnson of Connecticut, Dickinson of Pennsylvania, McKeon from Delaware, Gadsden and Rutledge from South Carolina—all historic names. Ruggles of Massachusetts, who had commanded a brigade in the



S. KELLEY'S MAP OF 1764.

late French war, was chosen chairman. The sessions were secret, and the journal printed later is extremely meager in the details of their proceedings. It would seem that they named a committee to draft a declaration of rights and grievances, and then adjourned. They met finally on October 19, and, after mature deliberation, agreed on this document. The authorship of the declaration has been usually ascribed to John Cruger. It has also been claimed for

John Dickinson. It is an able and fearless paper, of which any one of the great men named might have been proud. Committees were then appointed—one to draft an address to the king ; another a memorial to the lords ; a third, a petition to the House of Commons. On the 21st, 22d, and 23d these addresses were adopted. On the 24th the colonies were requested to appoint special agents to solicit relief. When the business was completed, Ruggles, who had presided over the several meetings, refused to sign the petitions "as against his conscience." All the others, however, except Ogden of New Jersey, unhesitatingly subscribed their names. The congress, after engaging themselves not to make public their petitions until they were presented, adjourned on the afternoon of Friday, October 28. Meanwhile the people were in council as to some means of forcing the merchants of Great Britain to take up their quarrel or redress their wrongs.

The call appeared in the "Gazette" of October 31, and was addressed to the gentlemen merchants of the city. The meeting was called for four o'clock of the same afternoon. It was both large and enthusiastic. Resolutions were adopted and subscribed to by upward of two hundred of the principal merchants, as follows: 1st, to accompany all orders to Great Britain for goods or merchandise of any nature, kind, or quality whatever, with instructions that they be not shipped unless the stamp act be repealed ; 2d, to countermand all outstanding orders unless on the condition mentioned in the foregoing resolution ; 3d, not to vend any goods sent on commission and shipped after January 1 succeeding, unless upon the same condition. In consequence of these resolutions the retailers of goods signed a paper obliging themselves not to buy any goods, wares, or merchandise after January 1 unless the stamp act were repealed.

(To be concluded in next number.)

THE TUSCARORA CONSPIRACY IN CAROLINA.

How and why the Tuscarora Indians came to be in North Carolina is a mystery. The whole story of their separation from the northern Iroquois will never be known. Their records are silent. Even tradition, that great preserver of knowledge, tells so little that we may safely conclude that it was from natural causes. Probably it was simply a question of an advantageous location. Our early settlers, when they pushed down from Virginia into the unexplored wilderness, found them settled on the Roanoke, the Pamlico, the Neuse, and the country between. Their language differs so much from that of the other branches of the family, that the separation must have taken place several centuries before the discovery of America.* Of their stay in Carolina, their great conspiracy in 1711, their disastrous defeat, and finally, their removal to the north, much has been written. However, so much is untrustworthy that it is only possible to pick from the mingled heap what is most strongly supported.

The tribe belonged to the great Huron-Iroquois family. It was not of the same stock as the rest of the Carolina Indians. They stood like a little island in an ocean of enemies, and were able not only to repel all attacks, but also to extend their territory. Two hundred and seventy-two tribal organizations have been found to exist, or to have existed, within the present limits of the United States. All of these east of the Mississippi may be classified into eight great families. The Tuscaroras were of the same family as the celebrated Five Nations of New York. This Iroquois Confederacy, as it was called, occupied the territory stretching from Vermont to the head of the Ohio, and included that south of Lake Erie and Ontario. It is believed that they originally lived north of the St. Lawrence, but were driven southward by the Adirondacks, assisted by the French.† From this circumstance arose their never ending dislike toward that nation; and on account of this dislike they refused to follow them in the French and Indian War. These five nations were the Mohawks, the Oneidas, the Onondagas, the Cayugas,

* This is the belief of General Horatio Hale, of Clinton, Ontario, author of "Iroquois Rites," and also of General John S. Clark.

† Thatcher, Vol. II, p. 35.

the Senecas ; and they were as different in qualities of mind from those around them as though of another race. Their reputation as warriors was so great that it is said the appearance of a Mohawk on one side, when two hostile tribes were contending, drove the other in headlong flight.* They made much headway against the surrounding Algonquins, and sent war parties far and near. The Senecas had a post even so distant as Fort Hill, South Carolina, since noted as the residence of John C. Calhoun. Their little bands often came down to surprise the unwary Cherokees. They drove the Eries, or Erigas, away from their home, and so effectually banished them that no trace of that tribe remains.

Though strong in war it was in civil affairs that their peculiar genius showed itself. These five nations were bound together in a confederation for years before the American colonies thought of union. This confederacy is the one instance of a successful organized government among savages.† It stood as an example to the colonists which might well have been followed earlier. Their union resembled the confederation adopted by the colonies in 1781, and has also been compared to the Amphictyonic Council of the Greeks. Each tribe preserved all its local institutions, but sent delegates to the Council, which had general powers. Each warrior had a right to aspire to any office, and when chosen served faithfully without pay. They understood the principle that the whole is stronger than any of its parts. Cannastego, one of their chiefs, advised the whites to form some sort of union, in 1744, when he met the Commissioners of Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania, at Lancaster,‡ but it took much humiliation to make Americans comprehend that in union there is strength.

Chateaubriand called them the "Romans of the West," and well they deserved the title. With Roman virtues, they had the Roman vices ; with Roman bravery, more than Roman cruelty ; with Roman fortitude, Roman contempt for the conquered. Their eloquence was noted by the early explorers. The Frenchman, Charlevoix, said : " * * * Their harangues are full of shining passages which would have been applauded at Rome and Athens."

Such were the Five Nations of New York ; and their Tuscarora brethren had their qualities, both good and evil. The great Tus-

* Schoolcraft, Vol. III, p. 185.

† McKenney and Hall, Vol. III, p. 17.

‡ Schoolcraft, Vol. III, p. 183.

carora massacre of 1711, and the war following, was an earnest effort for self-preservation. They had seen the weaker Meherrins and Nottoways made homeless vagabonds, and while they felt that they would hold their own against the surrounding Indians, yet they foresaw their ultimate destruction at the hands of the whites if their settlements were allowed to increase. Absolute extermination was decreed.

Northern Carolina was then ruled from Charleston through a deputy governor. The population, though small, was varied. The first settlers were Virginians seeking rich lands and freedom from taxation. These settled principally upon Albemarle Sound, and some few ventured down upon Pamlico. A small number of French Huguenots went upon Pamlico and Neuse. The Pamlico Indians had been so reduced in numbers and so broken in spirit by an epidemic of small-pox, that they did not resent the intrusion of settlers. There was a considerable addition to the population of the lower part of the colony in 1710, when about one thousand German Palatines and Swiss came over. These Palatines were fugitives from religious persecution, who had fled to England on the invitation of Queen Anne. There they were dependent upon the public bounty until they were scattered through the various colonies. Christopher de Graffenried, an impoverished Swiss officer, and Louis Michel, a needy adventurer, desired to settle colonies in "English America." They bought ten thousand acres of land from the Lords Proprietors, with an option on one hundred thousand. A contract to carry over six hundred and fifty of these "poore Palatines," and to settle each family upon a farm was made with the commissioners, acting for the Queen.* They brought over as many more Swiss also. Many of the Palatines perished on the way from sea sickness, and the helpless colony, through the duplicity of Surveyor-General, John Lawson, instead of being assigned separate farms, was huddled together like a flock of sheep, at the confluence of the Neuse and the Trent.† This was the foundation of the present city of Newbern.

The proprietors had received little compensation for their trouble with the province of Carolina. The people would not be governed like the submissive inhabitants of Europe. They refused to obey good governors and bad governors alike; they refused to pay even the most reasonable taxes, and looked with scorn upon the

* Colonial Records, Vol. 1, p. 986.

† Colonial Records, Vol. I, p. 910.

attempts of the proprietors to impose upon them a scheme of government perfect according to European ideas. If necessary they used force to drive away a governor who attempted to follow his instructions too closely. Even one of the proprietors fared better than the rest.* In all their quarrels, however, it had been the colony against the representative of foreign authority. Now began a civil war which weakened the colony in the face of the coming conflict.

Briefly, the circumstances are as follows. The ascension of Queen Anne in 1704 made new oaths† of allegiance necessary for all officers, in order to carry out the provisions of an act of Parliament. The Albemarle Quakers refused to take these, and had influence enough to have Deputy Governor Daniel removed. Colonel Thomas Carey was then appointed, but he, too, required the new oaths. By the influence of John Porter, their agent in England, and John Archdale, the Quaker proprietor, he was removed, and permission given to the council to elect a president. William Glover was selected, but when he too proved obstinate in respect to the oaths, Carey was again selected by a part of the council. It was agreed to submit the matter to the members of the Assembly, and this body decided in favor of Carey.‡ Glover refused to submit to the decision, and there was no government in Albemarle for nearly three years. Another claimant for the empty honor appeared in 1710, when Edward Hyde came over, but without a commission. Governor Tynte had died and there was no official proof of his claim to be deputy governor. Nevertheless the council believed his story and elected him president until his commission should arrive. Glover submitted in good faith. Carey first submitted, but afterwards took up arms. This revolt, if it was a revolt, was quelled by the aid of Governor Alexander Spotswood, of Virginia, one of the best colonial governors then in America.

Though the outward signs of revolution were obliterated, yet the spirit of faction and division remained. The Assembly was divided. The body refused to levy necessary taxes, "hoping by their frugality to commend themselves to their constituents." This was the condition of the colony when the fury of Indian warfare broke loose.

* Seth Southwell (Sothel) who may be classed as a bad governor. He took charge 1689.

† It is claimed by some students of history that these oaths were not simple declarations of allegiance, but partook of the nature of the hated Test Oath; this is not proven.

‡ 1708 Colonial Records, Vol. I, Prefatory Notes.

There were signs of trouble, however, that might have well been noted. The historians of North Carolina have written as if the relations between the colonists and the Indians had been ideally friendly up to this time. Recent researches discredit this, for there was a serious invasion of "enemy Indians" in Albemarle as early as 1616, and this phrase is often used:* "Human nature and Indian nature were much the same in Carolina and in Massachusetts."

There is evidence that the attack had been long contemplated. The immediate causes of the outbreak may be stated as follows: (1.) The forced removal from their burying and hunting grounds. (2.) Ill-treatment by a few lawless white men. (3.) Jealousy of the growing power of the whites. (4.) Divisions among settlers making a favorable opportunity. Gov. Hyde and all connected with him, declared repeatedly that Carey was responsible for the attack; that his agents worked among the Tuscaroras, trying to provoke them to the massacre; that he desired to ruin the country, he was not allowed to rule.† This must be taken with much allowance, since there was little charity for enemies in those stirring times. But if not responsible directly for this contest, Carey must still be held as responsible indirectly; for, if the colony had not been so divided by his rebellion, the war would have more easily ended, if ever begun.

In the latter part of the summer of 1711 a circumstance happened which might have warned the settlers. Surveyor-General John Lawson prevailed upon de Graffenried to accompany him on a exploring expedition up the Neuse. At the end of the second day they were suddenly surrounded, deprived of all their effects, and made to march all night until they reached Cotethna, the village of King Hencock, or Handcock. The council of the Forty Elders tried them and decided that they should be liberated. Unfortunately Lawson began to quarrel violently with a petty chief. The Council of war then passed upon the case and sentenced them to death. de Graffenried escaped by claiming to be king of the inoffensive settlement on the Neuse. Lawson was obnoxious to them on account of his official position, and was secretly executed. De Graffenried was held as a prisoner for five weeks, and then released upon making a treaty.‡ By this treaty he bound himself to be neutral in all con-

* Records, Vol. I, Prefatory Notes, XIV.

† Colonial Records, Vols. I & II. Letters of Hyde, Spotswood, Pollock, etc.

‡ Colonial Records, Vol. I, p. 35.

tests between English and Indians, and in return all houses on which the great N (Neuse) was placed were to be spared.

While de Graffenried was still a prisoner the plot for the destruction of the whites was completed, and the first blow fell. Since they had slain an officer of the province the Tuscaroras felt that there could be no drawing back. Only eight of their fifteen villages were openly engaged in the plot, but the others assisted secretly.* The day before the new moon in September, was appointed for action. The Tuscaroras were to ravage the country between the Roanoke and the Pamlico. The Cotechneys and the Cores were to do the bloody work on the Neuse and the Trent. The Mattemiskeets and Matchapungas had entrusted to them the destruction of the inhabitants around Bath. The Tuscaroras and Meherrins, with such other help as they could gather, were to complete the slaughter north of Albemarle Sound.

The plans were laid carefully and executed silently. All fire arms were left behind. The rising of the sun on the 22d of September was the signal over the whole colony. Within two hours one hundred and thirty persons were killed. No one was spared. The young man and the maiden, the aged and the infant, each alike was inhumanly butchered. The most horrible cruelties were practised. Women were laid upon the ground and great stakes driven through their bodies, and their infants were hung upon trees for the buzzards and the crows. Crazy by the New England rum found in the cabins, the savages staggered through the woods, hooting and yelling, pursuing the fugitives for miles. The extent of territory was so great that it was impossible to strike all at once, but to such an extent was the spirit of distrust and disunion spread among the settlers, that in many cases instead of fleeing to some central point and making a united resistance, each man tried to defend his own house. Disaster overtook most of these, and the home furnished the flame by whose light the unfortunate owner was slain. For three days this awful pursuit continued, and closed only when drunkenness and fatigue compelled. Then, sated with slaughter, the conquerors returned to one of the principal towns of the Tuscaroras which had been fortified with a palisade, there to make new plans for the complete destruction of the white settlers.

Though Governor Hyde immediately called for soldiers, very few responded. The province had been so long without any law,

* Letters of Gov. Spotswood.

but that of the strongest, that the authority of the ruler was much weakened. The condition of the colony was a gloomy one. An Indian war greater than ever before was upon it; a debt of several thousand pounds hung over it; the people were so divided that even the greatness of the danger could not make them forget their animosities. Certain persons not only refused to go themselves against the enemy, but even hid their arms. There were in all hardly over 2,000 "fencible" men in the province, and the Quaker population refused to bear arms. It was seen at once that aid must be secured from the sister provinces. Virginia did nothing more the first year than to keep the neutral Tuscaroras and some small tribes from going boldly over to the hostiles. In addition to the above, however, she did make an appropriation for equipping troops, but as security for repayment, a mortgage on the land claimed by both colonies was demanded, which Governor Hyde had no authority to grant. Governor Spotswood also claimed that the Carolinians not only did not intend to feed his troops, but expected to charge ten per cent. duty on all provisions they should carry with them. Southern Carolina came promptly to the rescue, as was its duty, without asking security, though a petition was sent to the Proprietors asking repayment. Money and men were voted, and the chief command was given to John Barnwell, an experienced soldier. His forces consisted of a few white men and several hundred Yemassee Indians. He marched with great speed and effected a junction with that part of the militia which could be spared from the north, near the German settlement. The Indians had fortified a fort on the Neuse within the present county of Craven, about eighteen miles from Newbern. Having received re-enforcements, they marched out to meet Barnwell, and were disastrously defeated. In addition to the great number killed, more than a hundred prisoners were taken and afterwards sold as slaves. The remainder retreated into the fort, which was at once surrounded by Barnwell. Very shortly they sued for peace, which was immediately granted.

The officers of North Carolina expressed in severe terms their disapproval of Barnwell's thus "clapping up a peace,"* and attributed the action to all sorts of motives. They complained first, that he allowed the Indians to escape when they were in his power, and when their destruction would have ended the war; and secondly, that having made peace, he afterwards allowed his Indian allies to

* Colonial Records, Vol. I. Letters of Spotswood, Hyde, Pollock, etc.

capture several hundred prisoners, which act renewed the war. A commission was even sent to Charleston to make complaint. These officers, however, were prejudiced. Barnwell had accomplished what they themselves were unable to do. He was the representative of higher authority, for Hyde did not receive his commission as "Governor of that part of Carolina North and East of the Cape Feare," until May, 1712.

Barnwell gives the reasons for the treaty in a letter. He was without provisions, for the province had culpably neglected to do its duty in the matter. He himself had been wounded, and needed better medical attention than the "Chyrurgeon" accompanying the expedition could give. On occasion of their first victory the most of his Indians had deserted and gone home to sell their prisoners and to mourn the departed. De Graffenried says that the fort was full of white captives who cried out that they would all be murdered if an attack was made.* Local tradition corroborates this, and the memory of General Barnwell is held in great respect in the neighborhood. In regard to the second charge, it may be made against every officer who has ever commanded Indians. Not one has ever been able to control them after a victory. These explanations seem to vindicate Barnwell from all charges of double-dealing. His countrymen did not doubt his honesty of purpose, as he afterwards filled many places of honor and trust.

As has been said, war was at one renewed in spite of the treaty. The Assembly met in March, 1712, but took no effective action. It is true, an act was passed that every man should pay five pounds or go to the war, but the people simply did neither. The forces were so small that when a fort named in honor of the governor was built on Core Sound, a garrison of thirty men was all that could be spared, and to ten men was intrusted the defense of the Pamlico at Fort Reading.† De Graffenried kept his treaty through necessity. The inhabitants of the upper part of the province refused to furnish him with provisions or ammunition, and then reviled him because he remained neutral. To have trusted in his own strength would have been madness, and his neutrality was of much benefit to the colony, as he was enabled to communicate any plan laid by the enemy, though with danger to himself. There was great fear that the Iroquois were coming down to join in the war. The Secretary

* Colonial Records, Vol. I, p. 955.

† Colonial Records.

of the Province of New-York wrote that agents had been at work among the Senecas, and it was feared had succeeded.*

Aid was again asked from Virginia and South Carolina. Governor Spotswood secured an appropriation of 3,500 pounds sterling, and 600 for clothing. This was reduced to 1,000 and 180 for clothing, but even of this small amount, hardly 500 was ever expended. South Carolina voted 1,000 Indians and 50 white men. In the meantime, to contribute to the further distress of the colony, the dread scourge of yellow fever broke out, and among the victims was the Governor himself. Colonel Thomas Pollock was immediately chosen president of the council. He is a man of more ability and popularity than Hyde, and during his administration the situation grew brighter. At the time of his election there were hardly 150 men under arms.

While awaiting the arrival of the forces from South Carolina, Tom Blunt, a chief of the Tuscaroras who had remained neutral, came to Colonel Pollock, asking for a treaty of friendship. This the president refused to grant unless he should bring in Hencock and six others prominent in the war. Blunt promised to do this and asked ammunition to effect it. Colonel Pollock refused to grant the request unless he should send twelve hostages. The wily chief promised this also, but took care not to do it. At first he pretended to be unable to capture Hencock, but being awed by the approach of the South Carolina forces, found that he could easily accomplish it. When that arch-conspirator was brought he was at once executed. A treaty binding Blunt to assist the whites was barely concluded when the forces arrived. These consisted of about 850 Indians from the Ashley river, and 33 white men, all commanded by Colonel James Moore.†

No supply of provisions had been sent to Bath and it was necessary to march them into Albemarle. Colonel Pollock waited several months for Blunt to do what he had promised. During this time the burden of the support of these hungry men fell on Albemarle. This country was much distressed. It had had to supply the whole of the province with corn for two years, and now when this additional tax was laid upon it the inhabitants declared that they would rather be invaded by "enemy Indians" than by friendly. It was with difficulty that the people could be restrained from turning their arms against these Indians instead of their foes. The South Carolina savages were

* Colonial Records.

† Colonial Records, Vol. II, p. 13.

insolent and overbearing, and it was hard for the Albemarle settlers to see their last corn and meat devoured by these hungry men.

Blunt having failed to do what he had promised by the appointed time, the war began about the middle of January, 1713. A fall of snow delayed the forces at Fort Reading for some time, and it was not until March 20th that Fort Nohucke, or Nohoroco, to which the Indians had retreated upon the approach of Colonel Moore, was invested. The water supply was cut off, and on the morning of the 23d the post was captured. This was near Snow Hill, the present county seat of Greene. The story of the killed and wounded may best be told in Colonel Moore's own words, remembering only that he fought better than he spelled. "Ye 20th of this instant, I attack No-ho-ro-co fort on C— Creek and ye 23rd in ye morning took itt, with ye loss of 22 whit men killed and 24 more wond'd—35 Indians killed and 58 wond'd * * * Ye Qnt. of ye enemies Destroyed is as follows—Prisoners 392 Scalps 192 out of ye sd: fort—& att Least 200 Kill'd and Burnt in ye fort—& 166 Kill'd and taken out of ye fort on ye Scout, which is all."*

This broke the power of the Tuscaroras in North Carolina. They had but few warriors engaged against Barnwell, and so suffered but little, but this was a reverse from which they could not recover. All who had not gone into this fort fled further inland to another fort, Cohunke. Moore was in no position to follow up his success. His Indian allies had followed the custom before mentioned, that is to gather as many slaves as possible and to return home. Hardly two hundred men remained with him. Virginia refuse to make any further appropriation either of money or men, and Governor Spotswood and Council advised that peace be made, and that Tom Blunt be bribed with promise of dominion over the whole Tuscarora nation. Governor Craven had written that South Carolina could not send over three hundred more Indians, and when these did come they were sent back on account of lack of provisions. The public stores in Albemarle consisted of eight hundred bushels of corn and thirty-two barrels of meat, which was of course not sufficient to maintain a large force. There was no produce to sell to the trading vessels from New England, and hence there was no money. The Council had issued first £4,000 and then £8,000 in "bills of credit," but they soon depreciated. This was the first money ever issued by

* Colonial Records, Vol. II, p. 27.

North Carolina. The debt was large and increasing. On account of all these reasons the undaunted old President was constrained to make peace, recognizing Tom Blunt as king of all the Indians south of the Pamlico. Blunt bound himself to live peaceably with the settlers; to deliver all stolen goods; to make war against the smaller tribes; to capture and give up twenty of the leaders; and to give hostages for the faithful performance of these promises.* The province was not in a position to demand harsher terms, for in addition to its weakness, the rumors of approaching aid from the five nations began to grow more frequent. A small party of Mohawks attacked some traders in Virginia, and this was taken as a forerunner of a larger force.†

This peace practically ended the war. Scattering bands of hostiles hid in the swamps, and sallied out to attack the careless traveler, but there was no further organized resistance. With the downfall of the Tuscaroras the backbone of the great conspiracy was broken. At the beginning of the war they had twelve hundred warriors, and all the other tribes combined did not have over eight hundred. Colonel Moore first conquered the remnant of the Matchapungas, and drove them into the recesses of the Great Dismal Swamp. Then he turned upon the Cores and dispersed them near the present town of Beaufort. Having done all that was practicable he next returned to South Carolina, followed by the thanks of the whole people.

Tom Blunt and those immediately subject to him kept all his promises and were true to the whites, but all who had joined in the conspiracy, and many who had not, refused to submit to his authority. Runners passed between them and their northern kinsmen, and an invitation to come to them was accepted. In June 1713, the northward march was begun. They were granted full enjoyment of all privileges belonging to the Confederation, and became the sixth member. In a Council of the Five Nations held in September, 1714, the following words were used: "We acquaint you that the Tuscarora Indians are come to shelter themselves among the Five Nations. They were of us, and went from us long ago, and are now returned and promise to live peaceably among us."‡

The moving of the disturbing element from the province gave peace, but it was the peace of exhaustion. The suspension of agri-

* Colonial Records, Vol. II, pp. 48 et. seq.

† Letters of Governor Spotswood.

‡ General Chas. W. Darling, Cor. Sec. Oneida Hist. Soc. Utica, N. Y.

culture had suspended trade as well. The debt had increased so much that President Pollock was in despair. To pay this debt it was found necessary to levy taxes upon real estate as well as upon the poll, which had borne the whole burden heretofore. It was found necessary to issue £24,000 additional in bills of credit. Though coin was so difficult to procure, yet during all the trouble of the previous years, the Proprietors had been grasping enough to demand payment of Quit Rents in silver.† This had made the situation still worse, for many owed rents for three years. The population had been much reduced. What was the exact number killed by the Indians cannot be ascertained, for many who were reported killed had simply fled to Virginia to escape the horrors of the war. The blighting effect of the contest was felt in trade and immigration for many years. Though there has never been another serious Indian war in North Carolina, still the dread inspired by this kept out many settlers and much capital. Not until the second administration of Governor Burrington, twenty years later, did the colony attain to its former prosperity.

HOLLAND M. THOMPSON.

† Colonial Records, Vol. I, Prefatory Notes.

SAMUEL GORTON.*—II.

John Wickes was sentenced to be confined in Ipswich on similar conditions. Randall Holden to be confined in Salem. Robert Potter in Rowley. Richard Carder in Roxbury. Francis Weston in Dorchester, John Warner in Boston. William Waddell was to be confined in Watertown, during the pleasure of the Court, and if he escaped to be punished as the General Court or the Court of Assistants should think meet. Richard Waterman was to be dismissed for the time but what of his had been taken to go towards the payment of the charge and the rest of his estate to stand bound in £100, that he shall appear at the General Court, the 3rd month, and not to depart without license, and to submit to the order of the Court. Nicholas Power, appearing and denying that he set his hand to the first book, was dismissed with an admonition. This sentence was not agreed upon with unanimity in the Court. These prisoners remained in the towns in which it was assigned for them to work out their sentences, until the 7th of the following March, when they were liberated on condition they leave the colony of Massachusetts and not be found in it or in the Colony's possessions thereafter, on pain of death.

The first vote propounded to the Court while considering the sentence of the prisoners, was whether they should be put to death? This was decided against the death penalty by two majority. Pending the trial, four questions were propounded to Gorton, under the direction of the Court, which he was directed to answer in writing. These questions were probably suggested by the Court, after refusing the death penalty, and were expected to demonstrate the fallacy of his religious belief.

The questions were : 1st. Whether the fathers, who died before Christ, born of the Virgin Mary, were justified and saved only by the blood which he shed, and the death which he suffered, after his incarnation ?

2nd. Whether the only price of our redemption was not the death of Christ upon the Cross, with the rest of his sufferings, and obedience in the time of his life after his said birth ?

* Concluded from November, 1893.

3rd. Who is the God, whom he thinks we love?

4th. What he means when he saith : We worship the star of our God Rempham Chion, Moloch?

Gorton answered these interrogations, and when the answers were read in Court, Governor Winthrop replied, "that we are one with you in these answers." Some of the Court, disappointed by the answers, proposed to further interrogate Gorton, but Bradstreet protested against this, while Gorton was on trial, and against any further attempt at obtaining evidence, which Gorton did not voluntarily give.

Johnston (one of the Commissioners that went to Warwick after Gorton and his friends) had already, in his "Wonder Working Providence," said of Gorton, in Gorton's worst style, that Gorton denied the humanity of Christ. This claim Gorton emphatically contradicted, and as emphatically contradicted most of the other dogmas attributed to him. He was accused of opposing all civil government. This accusation he explained and limited by saying, that he was opposed to all civil government under the State of England, not founded upon the authority of England; and his entire conduct during life demonstrated the sincerity of his claim; for after the Charter was obtained for Rhode Island, he was as obedient to the laws, as he had been disobedient to them before the Charter.

Governor Winthrop charges these Warwick men with being "illiterate;" nevertheless, if the question had been proposed to him, he might possibly have conceded that Gorton & Holden, in their correspondence with Massachusetts authorities, showed considerable fertility of imagination, and posterity, by its unanimous voice, must concede that Governor Winthrop and his associates in the General Court of Massachusetts, in 1643, were lamentably ignorant of the principles of human liberty, of the rights of men and of the virtue of Christian charity, or it will have to attribute to their conduct a character beside which illiteracy has no place.

At the next Court, the prisoners were all sent away, because the Court found that they did mislead some of the people, especially the women. "About a week after," says Winthrop, "we sent men to fetch so many of their cattle as might defray our charges, both of the soldiers and of the Court, which spent many days about them, and for their expenses in prison. It came to in all about £160."

Upon his liberation, Gorton having, as he supposed, fourteen days within which to leave Massachusetts, went into Boston, to await

the arrival of his associates, who had to come from more distant towns, but Governor Winthrop ordered his immediate removal from the colony.

Gorton and his associates now had to go to Rhode Island, from which he, with Holden, Potter, Wilks and Carder, had been sent away two years and a-half before—there they appear to have been well received, given lands to improve, and were re-united to their families.

The first charter had already been obtained, and though Warwick was embraced within its provisions, Massachusetts would not release its hold upon that territory, though the territory had been granted by the Chief Sachem of the Narragansetts, and also by Pomham, to these settlers, before the latter attempted to submit it to Massachusetts.

Samuel Gorton, John Greene and Randall Holden, in 1644, armed with the deed of submission to England, of the Narragansetts, went to England; and on the 13th of May, 1648, they appeared in Boston harbor from England, bringing with them the following order from the Governor-in-Chief, Lord High Admiral, and Commissioner appointed by Parliament, for the English plantations of America: "Whereas, we have thought fit to give an order for Mr. Samuel Gorton, Mr. Randall Holden, Mr. John Greene and others, late inhabitants of a tract of land, called the Narragansetts Bay, near the Massachusetts Bay, in New England, to return with freedom to the said tract of land, and there to inhabit and abide without interruption; these are therefore to pray and require you and all others, whom this may concern, to permit and suffer the said Samuel Gorton, etc., with their company, goods and necessities, carried with them out of England, to land at any port in New England, when the ship wherein they do embark themselves shall arrive, and from thence to pass, without any of your lets or molestations, through any part of the continent of America, within your jurisdiction, to the said tract of land called Narragansett Bay, or any part thereof, they carrying themselves without offence, and paying, according to the custom of the country and their contract, for all things they shall make use of in their way of victuals, carriages and other accommodations. Hereof fail not, and this shall be your warrant. Dated at Westminster, May 15, 1646."

This was directed to the Governor and assistants of Massachusetts, and signed by the Commissioner of Plantations.

Winthrop says : " That this order was obtained partly for private respects and partly for their adhering to some of the corrupt tenets, and generally for their dislike of us for our late law—for banishing anabaptists—they seemed to be much offended with us for our religious proceedings (as they called it) against them, and thereupon, without sending us to hear an answer, etc., they gave them this order."

As Gorton and his associates, who five years before escaped a sentence of death for heresy by only two votes of the deputies, over the unanimous judgment of the magistrates and ministers, appeared before the Governor, assistants and ministers, as they were dissolving their synod, and presented this letter-missive, they must have suggested a picture worthy of the pencil of the best artist. Winthrop copied this missive and recorded it in his history. In his comments upon the paper, there is apparent a tinge of conscience ; for soon after, upon his death-bed, when asked to sign an order against another heretic, he is reported to have replied, saying : " I have done too much of that business already."

June 15, 1645, Cromwell and his forces won the decisive battle of Naseby, and he soon after returned to London, the "uncrowned king" of the British empire. On the 7th of October of that year it was ordered by the General Court of Massachusetts that Richard Saltonstall, Capt. George Cook (who had taken Gorton and his adherents from Warwick) should be joined with Mr. Pocock and other commissioners in England in negotiating for us (Mass.) before the Right Honorable the Earl of Warwick and the rest of the Commissioners for the Plantations, etc., or before the high Court of Parliament if occasions require, concerning the two late grants or charters for the government or the jurisdiction of lands adjoining to Narragansett Bay. Capt. Cook, at that time, was about to leave Massachusetts, to join Cromwell's army, which he afterwards did join, and as a colonel therein, met his death in the campaign in Ireland, in 1652.

Massachusetts must have known of the Rhode Island charter of March 17, 1643-4 ; yet its General Court served a notice on Roger Williams, dated October 7th, 1645, that it had obtained a charter and grant of the entire territory, including the island of Quinday (Rhode Island), dated December 10, 1643, and cited Williams and his neighbors to appear before the General Court of Massachusetts to exhibit there any claim which they might pretend to the territory.

This pretended charter of Massachusetts never had any valid existence; for though drawn in form, it was never sanctioned by a majority of the Commissioners.

At this meeting of the Court of Massachusetts there was granted to certain inhabitants of Braintree leave to go and inhabit the territory of Gorton, but they were not to take up exceeding 10,000 acres, and were to build ten houses in twelve months.

Massachusetts, in reply to the charges of Gorton, Holden and Greene, under date of November 4, 1646, justified the forcible seizure of Gorton and his adherents. "Our Charter, as we conceive, gave us full power to deal with them (Gorton, etc.) as enemies, by force of arms, they being in such place, where we could have no right from them by civil justice."

In 1650, the Massachusetts General Court notified Rhode Island not to proceed by actions at law against William Arnold, William Carpenter, Robert Cole and their associates at Shawomet, and the next year it notified Roger Williams that the Colony must not levy taxes upon these people. Arnold and three others had offered their submission to Massachusetts, October 7, 1642. Winthrop says: "They received them, partly to draw in the rest from those parts, and the place would be of use, if we had occasion to send out against the Indians, and likewise would give an outlet to Narragansett Bay, and as it would be no charge to us, we thought it not wise to let it slip."

The trial of Gorton and his associates was commenced October 17, 1643, and his sentence was not imposed until November 3rd, seventeen days later.

The Warwick settlers were not permitted to enjoy their homes in Warwick after their return. After Gorton and Holden came from England the Indians about them (as was alleged, instigated by Massachusetts officials and probably also by some of their own people who had formally subjected themselves and their lands to Massachusetts), were very insulting and annoying, entering their houses and ransacking them when the male members of the households were absent—killing their sheep, hogs and cattle, destroying their fences, and doing other things to make their lives exceedingly uncomfortable.

This conduct brought out a very earnest, energetic and pathetic appeal from Roger Williams, made in behalf of the Rhode Island Colony to Massachusetts, to aid in suppressing the then existing

troubles to which these settlers were subjected. It is the second appeal of the then President of the Rhode Island Colony, to which reference is made. After having long waited for an answer to his first letter, he says: "That his request is for their favorable consideration of the long and lamentable condition of the town of Warwick, which has been thus troubled. They are so dangerously and so vexatiously intermingled with the barbarians, that I have long admired the wonderful power of God, in restraining and preventing very great fires of mutual slaughter breaking forth between them. You know the inhuman insultations of these wild creatures, and you may be pleased also to imagine that they have not been sparing of *your* name, as the patron of all their wickedness against our English men, women and children and cattle. * * * The remedy, under God, is only in your pleasure that Pomham shall come to an agreement with the town or colony, and that some convenient way and time be set for their removal; and that your wisdoms may see just grounds for such. Your wisdoms, be pleased to be informed of a reality of a solemn covenant between Warwick and Pomham, with which, notwithstanding he pleads his being drawn to it by the awe of the superior Sachems, yet I humbly offer, that what was done was according to the laws and tenor of the natives. I take it in all New England and America, that the inferior Sachems and subjects shall plant and remove at the pleasure of the highest and Supreme Sachem, and I humbly conceive, that it pleaseth the Most High and Only Wise to make use of such a bond of authority over them, without which they could not long subsist in human society, in the wild condition wherein they are. Please you not to be insensible to the slippery and dangerous condition of this their intermingled cohabitation. I am humbly confident that all the English towns and plantations in New England, put together, suffer not such molestation from the natives as this one town and people. It is so great and so oppressive that I have daily feared the tidings of some public fire and mischief." This letter refers to the abandoned lives and the great vices practiced by these Indians in their drunken orgies, and makes the strongest possible appeal to Massachusetts to interpose its good offices for their removal. Williams had strong claims upon Massachusetts, arising out of their relation with the Narragansetts. Before this, in 1644, Gorton quotes a letter, signed J. W. (either John Wickes or John Warner probably), which narrates something which transpired while Gorton was in England, in 1644.

Captain Harding, of Rhode Island, was employed by the Massachusetts Court, to go with Samuel Wilbur, also of Rhode Island, taking with them Benedict Arnold as interpreter, to the Narragansetts. Arnold thought the experiment too hazardous, as the Indians were excited and desperate, but Harding and Wilbur procured Roger Williams to go with them to the Indians, and to persuade the chiefs to go to Boston, to confer with the Massachusetts authorities, hoping thereby to avert an impending war. Williams gave himself as a hostage to the tribe for the safe conduct and return of their chiefs. The chiefs went and the war was averted; but this act of Williams, though attended with beneficial results, created much dissatisfaction in Boston. This writer goes on to say: "The news coming into the Bay did so vex the ministers, that Master Cotton preached upon it, that it being so wicked an act to take Master Williams with them, being one cast out of Church, it was all one as to ask the counsel of a witch, and that those that did it were worthy to die. Upon which Master Wilbur was ready to die, for fear he should be hanged."

So the Indians went down, and they compelled them to cease war upon *Uncas*, and to agree to pay them £50, for charges for the Court, and for provisions for soldiers.

Thus it appears that Williams' efforts to serve Massachusetts, however well intended, were little appreciated. This occurrence, it should be remembered, happened seven years after his great service to that Colony in the *Pequot war*.

The Massachusetts Court neglected the appeal of Williams and awaited the "staying of their hands," until compelled to do so in answer to an appeal from Warwick to the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, received by them March, 1657-8.

The Commissioners informed the Colony of Massachusetts of the reception of the petition from the settlers of Warwick, and sent them a copy of the petition. In the Commissioners' notice they say, they would not act upon so weighty a matter finally, without affording that Colony an opportunity to be heard. Yet as the prayer of the petition was for future security, rather than redress for past grievances, the Commissioners required the Massachusetts Colony to permit the Warwick settlers to join their families upon the territory, and to allow them freely and quietly to live upon and plant the Shawomet lands, within the bounds of the Rhode Island Charter, on which they formerly lived and planted, without the Massachusetts

Colony extending any jurisdiction over them, until the further order of the Commissioners thereon. This order, for it was an order, contained the other provision, that Gorton, Holden and Greene should have liberty to pass and repass through Massachusetts territory, they demeaning themselves civilly, notwithstanding any previous order of banishment from that territory.

William Arnold had entertained and furnished supplies to the Massachusetts soldiers while they were in Warwick. A considerable number of the cattle of Gorton and his friends, seized by the soldiers, were turned over to Arnold, in payment of his claim. Now, when Arnold was within the jurisdiction of Rhode Island, and Gorton and his friends were settled upon their old plantations, they sued Arnold for converting their cattle, and Arnold was mulcted in large damages for wrongfully converting the animals.

In this state of affairs, Arnold appealed to the General Court of Massachusetts to make good the loss he had sustained from a defect in the title to the animals sold him. The claim was referred to a committee of the Court, which reported: That inasmuch as Arnold, since his purchase of the cattle, had voluntarily left the jurisdiction of Massachusetts and joined himself unto the people of whom he complains that have wronged him, it was not meet that the Court should make him satisfaction for the wrong his own people had done to him. The deputies approved of the report of the Committee, and this ended the matter.

September 4, 1651, the Warwick settlers gave notice to the Commissioners of the United Colonies, after reciting their grievances, that they were about to go to England to obtain protection for the future, while they were willing to forego their rights to indemnity for injuries in the past. This notice induced Massachusetts to lay before the Commissioners of the United Colonies a paper containing allegations that in all it had done to the Warwick people, it had the sanction and approval of the United Colonies.

The Commissioners from Connecticut and New Haven did not approve what Massachusetts had done, but said what had been done never had been laid before them, so that it could not own or disown them. Plymouth denied that it had ever resigned any claim to Warwick to Massachusetts, and that it was never lawful for it to do so, and that its commissioners did not understand what right Massachusetts had to take Gorton and his company, who resided so far out of its jurisdiction.

The Commissioners of the United Colonies further set forth :
“ And whereas we are informed that the Court of the Massachusetts have lately sent out several summons or warrants to several persons inhabiting Warwick, alias Shawomet and Pawtuxet, and have made seizures upon some of their estates, we do hereby protest against such proceedings, if any such be.”

Massachusetts had professed to have acted under the authorities of both Plymouth and Connecticut, as well as under the submission of Pomham and Soconoco, and of William Arnold and his friends.

May, 1653, Gorton and John Smith complained of and made charges against the Court of Commissioners, which complaint and charges Providence laid before the Assembly, upon Gorton's appeal. This was during the Coddington incident, and Providence and Warwick were the only towns there represented, and though a special Court was ordered to consider this cause, no record of its final disposition has been discovered by the writer.

August 22, 1661, Gorton and his adherents petitioned Massachusetts to redress their grievances, which they marshaled under four heads :

First. The cruel and unjust seizure of their persons and estates by forces under Cooke, Atherton and Johnston. *Second.* Their false imprisonment for the space of one whole winter season and more, lying in chains and fetters of iron, and yet kept at work. *Third.* Their banishment and exile, continued from that time to the writing of this letter. *Fourth.* The great charge and expense you have put us into in the recovery of our lands, which you have seized, as well as our persons and estates, and from which you banished us, whereupon we were necessitated, for the supply of our present wants, to make use of our friends beyond modesty and all ordinary courtesy, when you had cast us out of home, harbor and place of abode, taking from us our goods of all sorts, and leaving us destitute, thinking thereby to drive us among the Indians, to our ruin, or else to the Dutch Plantations, where many of our English people were inhumanly massacred immediately before by the barbarous Indians, etc.

In 1656, Massachusetts authorities issued a warrant to their Marshal-General to arrest Richard Chasmore, who then resided at Pawtuxet. Savage says ; “ His crime was probably some crookedness in religion, or his concurrence with the Gortonist, his neighbor, on the opposite side of the river.” The Marshal-General went to

Pawtuxet and arrested him, but stopped overnight with him in Providence. Chasmore had formerly belonged to the William Arnold party, and was one of the persons to whom the Massachusetts warrant to seize John Greene's cattle, May 20, 1643, was directed. Notwithstanding Massachusetts had relinquished its claim to jurisdiction over this territory to Plymouth in 1650, it then (1656) claimed to hold jurisdiction to issue the warrant and to hold Chasmore thereunder; but while he was in the custody of the Marshal of Massachusetts in Providence, Arthur Fenner, a magistrate there, issued a warrant to take Chasmore into custody, who was then under a recognizance to appear in the Courts of Rhode Island; upon which the prisoner was brought before Fenner and held from the custody of the Massachusetts officer. This act appears to have somewhat disturbed the equanimity of the Massachusetts Court, which, in May 6, 1657, after reading the letters and papers in reference to the Chasmore case and considering them, thought it necessary that something should be done to vindicate their just rights to jurisdiction over Pawtuxet, and that they should not pass over in silence the affront offered to the Marshal and those that were with him by the men of Providence. The release of Arnold and his adherents from their subjection to Massachusetts in 1658, appears to have ended the claim to jurisdiction, usurped by the Massachusetts Colony. The following paragraph from I. Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts shows the cause of the long delay in the Warwick settlers in vindicating their rights to jurisdiction over their territory. This author says: "Complaints were carried to Cromwell from Rhode Island, 1656, against Massachusetts, by Clarke Holmes and others, but Mr. Leverett, who was a captain of horse under Cromwell during some part of the war, had much of his favor, and though he could not prevent the Rhode Islanders from being favorably received, for no sect could fail of an advocate in Cromwell's Court, yet he prevented so much as an inquiry into the conduct of Massachusetts. Nay, Cromwell censured the Colony for banishing the seducers, which had risen up against them."

The Court of Massachusetts 20th, 3 mo., 1643 (recorded May 25, 1658); issued a commission to "William Arnold, Benedict Arnold, William Carpenter, Richard Chasmore, Christopher Hawksworth and Stephen Arnold, and to all or any of them, to apprehend the bodies of John Greene and his son John, Richard Waterman and Nicholas Power, and to bring them to Boston, before the

Governor or some other magistrate, to be proceeded with according to justice; and, if need or occasion be, they to take aid of any other English or Indians which are under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, and to seize all the cattle of the said John Greene which cannot now be found, as they might thereafter find, and either send them to the Governor, at Boston, or to keep them safe till the Governor could send for them."

On the day of the date of this record, William Arnold and William Carpenter presented a petition for themselves and others, inhabitants of Pawtuxet, for a full discharge from their submission to Massachusetts, with their lands and estates. The Court saw well to grant the request of the petitioners, on the condition that Arnold gave an account of what he had done under his commission, and that the Greenses have liberty to prosecute him and others in any of the Courts for any injury done or pretended by him and others concerned, and that he give security to make good what is herein confirmed by the Court. October 19, 1658, it was made to appear that Arnold had given the required security; and whereas the said Arnold stood engaged in a bond to be responsible to answer the suit of the Greenses, and of any other, for what injury he had done to them by virtue of the Courts' Commission, without reference to any limit of time therefor, it was ordered that no prosecution of the said Arnold should be maintained after one year, when the said bond should be void.

Gorton was a tantalizing, troublesome and turbulent man. He not only denied but opposed the execution of all civil authority, which was not authorized by the governing authority in England. In this conduct he was pretty consistent and probably entirely honest. He denied the obligation of the ordinances of the church. In religion, he believed that Christ became incarnate in Adam, that his birth, crucifixion and resurrection were not illustrative of his office in the plan of redemption and salvation.

He was a man of great activity, persistency and energy, though strongly self-willed, of integrity of purpose and free from corrupt practices. His adherents were generally devoted to him, though he broke friendship with John Warner, who left the colony and returned to England.

He was a man of considerable learning and intellectual resources—though a somewhat voluminous author, yet his greatest title to distinction is the wrong done him and the sufferings to which he

was subjected, by the authorities of Massachusetts. He saved Warwick from being taken and held by Massachusetts or Plymouth, but it is quite doubtful, if either of those colonies would ever have made claim to that territory, had not Gorton resided upon it. He and his associates were also instrumental in withholding the Narragansett country from Connecticut.

Gorton and his adherents never dissembled as to their acts or opinions, to avoid any punishment or to gain favor. Easton, whom Gorton had grossly insulted at "the Island," while Governor, notified Massachusetts that Rhode Island would make the case of Gorton and his adherents its own, and Roger Williams, who had bitterly complained to Massachusetts of the conduct of Gorton, became his most powerful defender and the protector of the homes of his friends, and entered protests against the large expenses to which they had been subjected.

To these appeals, Massachusetts does not appear to have made any reply. In 1664, the King sent over a commission, composed of Sir Robert Carr, George Cartwright and Samuel Maverick, to investigate the affairs of the colonies—their relations with the Indians and to determine existing differences between the colonies and among the people.

Gorton and his adherents laid their complaints with commendable brevity, and in a manner which would seem to negative Governor Winthrop's charge of "illiteracy," before these commissioners. To these charges Massachusetts replied, "That the charges involved an ungrateful investigation into the ruins of time, after things hard to be found, which was not lessened by the revolution of the generation, which had almost passed away, since their transaction." Then, with a degree of vituperation and an obscurity of meaning equal to Gorton's most bitter and incomprehensible allusions, they go through the charges of blasphemous heresy and his insolence to Massachusetts officials and, by reference, incorporate into their answer "Hypocrisy Unmasked."

To this issue, thus made up, the only outcome which has been found on record, is a note from Commissioner Cartwright to Gorton, dated May 25, 1665, in which it is said "These gentlemen of Boston would make us believe that they verily think that the King has given them so much power in their charter to do unjustly, that he reserved none to himself to call them to an account for doing so. In short they refuse to let us hear complaints against them, so that

at present we can do nothing in your behalf—but I hope shortly to go to England, where if God bless me thither, I shall truly represent your suffering and your loyalty." These commissioners heard the impending matters of difference between Pomham and his Shawomet Indians and the Warwick settlers—The result of which was that Pomham was ordered "to remove from Warwick and out of the King's province before the next planting, and that the settlers should pay him £20, but if Pessicus would consent to receive him and his Indians, Pomham might go out of Warwick into other parts of the Indian territory."

In 1664, after the Charter of Charles II to Rhode Island and after the King had taken the Narragansetts into his protection, (orders were issued for their protection March 2, 1664-5), Gorton wrote Governor Winthrop of Connecticut, of the receipt of this order and notified him that he had received information that the Connecticut Indians intended to invade the Narragansett country and desired the Governor to have them forbidden, as the Narragansetts were to be defended.

Late in life, Gorton was terribly afflicted with the "stone." August 11, 1674, he wrote Governor Winthrop at New London, when in his 82d year, that though up to a very recent period, he had been in the enjoyment of good health, that this terrible malady was upon him—stated concisely the manifestations of his disorder and asked the Governor to prescribe for it. On the 18th of August, Governor Winthrop replied to Gorton's request and sent him medicine, which had a very manifest effect upon Gorton's disease, greatly relieving him of pain and enabling him to rest quietly and indeed soon restored him to his normal state of health. Gorton delayed replying to Governor Winthrop's letter and acknowledging his gratitude for the singular benefit conferred upon him, until the following October, when in a clear, forcible and compact manner, he states the effect of the medicine upon his disorder from time to time, and in affectionate and appropriate terms, acknowledges his obligation and gratitude for the great benefit conferred upon him.

Gorton died December 10, 1677, aged 85 years. He left Samuel, John, Benjamin, Mahershallahasbaz, Mary, Sarah, Ann, Elizabeth and Susanna. His daughter Ann married John Warner, the son of the John who had returned to England; Mary married first Peter Greene and second John Sanford, with whom she went to live and lived and died in Tiverton. All of the nine children were married and survived their father.

His naming his town for the Earl of Warwick, his procuring a deed of submission of themselves and their lands from the Narragansett Chiefs to the British Crown and having himself, Holden and Warner appointed by these Chiefs to deliver this submission, and finally his naming of the Narragansett country "The King's Province," show that Gorton was not destitute of tact in the conduct of public affairs.

November 17, 1771, the Rev. Dr. Ezra Stiles visited John Angell in Providence, who was born October 4, 1691. Angell informed Dr. Stiles that his grandfather came to Providence with and as the hired man of Roger Williams. Angell was a great admirer of Samuel Gorton; he showed the Doctor three quarto volumes in print, of the writings of Samuel Gorton. One was entitled "An Incomparable Key, etc., in 2 parts, 120 and 119 pages, 1647," another was "Saltmarsh returned from the Dead, pp. 198. London, 1655." The other was "Antidote against the Common Plague of the World, etc.," dedicated to the Lord Protector and dated at Warwick, in Narragansett Bay, October 20, 1656, pp. 296, printed in 1657.

Gorton was constitutionally a controversialist. He appears to have been quite indifferent to the opinion of his contemporaries and as having been unwilling to let any opportunity pass unavailed of to assert and defend his dogmas; yet he was a consistent royalist to the last. When elected an assistant, upon the retirement of Sir Edmund Andros, he refused to take the oath of office, because he had not the sanction of the King for so doing. He denied the validity of the ordinances adopted and practised in the church, and the death of Christ, and firmly contended that every man should search for religious truth from any and every possible source, and that baptism, the communion, Church organization and a settled ministry were unnecessary. Gorton retained the confidence of the people, for he was in office up to his death.

Gorton was undoubtedly the leader in the settlement of the town of Warwick, but the descendants of John Greene have been far more influential in maintaining and upholding this ancient municipality than the descendants of any other of the original settlers—possibly more influential than the descendants of all the other first settlers.

WM. P. SHEFFIELD.

NAPOLEON AND THE AMERICAN WAR OF 1812.

The interest manifested recently in regard to Napoleon and the American war of 1812, leads us to reflect that it is a subject that must have at one time been of great interest to the American people, and yet when we come to examine about it we find the subject was formerly more often referred to by historical writers than in those of more recent years.

The reference to the subject, however, has always been governed by the feelings of the writers and show whether they were in favor of or against the war with Great Britain, in 1812, without giving facts to support the view.

It is not the purpose of this article to discuss the causes or objects of the declaration of war against England in 1812, or the result and effect of its termination, but to show some of the prominent points which Napoleon made in favor of America against England.

It should be remembered that in 1812, at the time of the law of Congress declaring war against Great Britain, Napoleon had for many years been the terror of Europe and the victor on many bloody battle fields, and his genius and boldness were greatly admired by the great mass of the American people, who, in the shadows of the American and French revolutions were crying "down with tyrants." In July, 1812, a large number of American privateers under the laws of the United States, sailed from American ports, and many more would have done so could the proper equipments have been obtained. Napoleon was so engrossed with his campaign against Russia when the American war was declared, and his prospects were so full of success, and he being on his way to Russia at the time and not hearing of the American war until many months after it was declared, that he did not pay any attention to it.

After the failure of the campaign against Russia, and Napoleon's return to France in the spring of 1813, among his new plans of war to be considered was that of the American war. When American privateers began to arrive in French ports with captured English vessels as prizes, some embarrassment arose as to how they should be disposed of.

The first official notice of it taken by Napoleon was early in May, 1813, and was in regard to American privateers, which then plentifully appeared in European waters against British shipping.

American ports were not blockaded by the British until the spring of 1813, and up to that time American privateers could sail from and to them without much danger. Napoleon then decreed that "The consuls of the United States shall have in France, in what relates to prizes, the same jurisdiction which the French consuls exercise in the countries where they are most favored (the allies of France)." Thus all the ports of France were open to American captures, providing an American consul was there to hold court. It does not appear that any other nation allowed this, although many American captures were taken into the ports of Norway, Peru, Spain, Florida (then belonging to Spain), Frankfort, and some others. Portugal claimed to be neutral and would not allow any captures to be brought into any of her ports. This was an important privilege. By the law of nations, each nation must provide a court for the adjudication of its captures from an enemy, and the court may be held in the country of the ally, but not in a neutral country, but the prize courts of an ally could not adjudicate upon a capture. Consular courts were allowed to act in such matters, and were regulated by their nation; a neutral nation could not allow the captures of the belligerents to be brought into its port and be sold. But if only one belligerent is allowed to do so the nation permitting it cannot be called neutral. Many foreign nations allowed American and British captures to be brought into its ports during the war of 1812-15, and there were others that would not allow either of the belligerents to do so.

The American consul, Mr. Wm. Lee, held a prize court at Bordeaux, which was the most popular and more often resorted to than any other in France. American captures could be taken there with safety, adjudicated upon and sold, and at once fitted out as new privateers. This was of great advantage to both France and America, to have privateers fitted out in France and yet sail under the American flag, for then no nation but Great Britain could seize them, and they were on the ground ready for action against British shipping.

In the decree of May, 1813, Napoleon also ordained that "the American vessels and privateers shall be allowed to take each fifty muskets, fifty pistols and fifty swords, and the number of guns from three to twenty-four pounders, which shall be necessary, when fitting

out in French ports." This was more remarkable, when we consider that at that time nearly all Europe was arrayed against him, and when implements and equipments of that nature were in great demand.

The situation of European nations in 1813 was very peculiar. The British *allies* were Sweden, Prussia, Austria, Portugal, Spain, Sicily and Russia. Great Britain was *at war* with the United States, Denmark, Saxony, Bavaria, Westphalia, France and Naples. It thus became a problem in international law to decide who besides Great Britain were to be regarded as our enemies.

At the meeting of the British Parliament in November, 1813, Lord Compton said: "He might be told that America was not the ally of France. He knew that she had not signed and sealed a formal treaty of alliance with that country; but that she (United States) had formed that species of alliance which was fully an equivalent by giving her (France) all the assistance of her power in the contest now waging."

The distinction was that France was an ally of the United States and could assist in the war against England but the United States was not an ally of France, and could not assist her in any other war or contest against any other nation than Great Britain.

What effect this action of Napoleon had upon the policy of the Congress of Vienna and the terms of the treaty of Ghent, in 1814, which terminated the American war, need not here be narrated.

When Napoleon declared in 1812, that there would be no neutrals in the European wars, it showed that he knew the temper and feelings of the people.

R. S. GUERNSEY.

DAVENPORT AND ITS ENVIRONS.—II.

"The valley of the Mississippi," said that critical observer, De Tocqueville, "is the most magnificent dwelling place prepared by God for man's abode." And the distinguished traveler, Bayard Taylor, designated Iowa as containing the garden spot of the world. Davenport, located in the centre of all the physical beauty and material wealth of this highly favored region of the Mississippi Valley, with the grand state of Iowa at its back, is, by a concensus of judgment, not only the most important city of the state, but by reason of its many special natural advantages and resources, and picturesque loveliness of its scenery, the most favorable site for a great city in all this beautiful land.

Davenport was originally surveyed and laid out in the winter of 1835-36. By some mishap the plat then made was lost and was discovered only a few years ago by Judge Rorer, in Burlington, and restored to a Davenport citizen. The patriotic spirit of the founders of the city was shown in the selection of names for the streets, and when the town was resurveyed in 1841, the excellent street nomenclature first adopted, was but slightly changed. Most of the streets leading north from the river were named for distinguished generals in the last war with Great Britain—men who were also famous as Indian fighters. They are in the order of enumeration, beginning with the western part of the city, Warren, Brown, Gaines, Scott, Ripley, Harrison, Brady and Perry. Western avenue, originally Western Row, and Main, which was Miller in the old chart, were the only changes made. The streets parallel with the river were Sac, Fox, Ottawa, Chippewa and Pottawattamie, named after the principal tribes of Indians with whom these generals had been engaged. It is regretfully recorded that numbers were subsequently substituted for the Indian names. Though the brightness of the hero's fame for whom it was named is now somewhat dimmed, Brady is the principal street. In the once popular ballad, "Benny Haven, O!" the verse to General Brady reads:

Here's a health to General Brady—
God bless the old hero!
He's an honor to his country,
But a terror to his foe,

May he long rest on his laurels
May he sorrow never know,
But live to see a thousand years
And Benny Haven, O !

Among the important events of Davenport's early history, the most thrilling and memorable was the contest waged in support of her claim to recognition in the selection of a location for the county



COURT HOUSE.

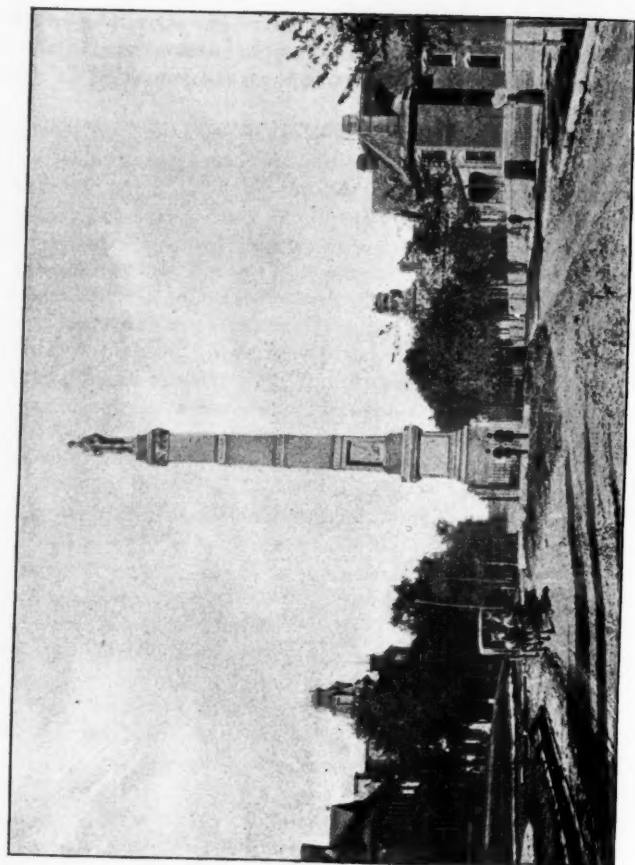
seat of Scott county. Rockingham, a flourishing village at the mouth of Rock river, five miles below Davenport, was also desirous of appropriating the honor and soon developed into a formidable rival. The question was to be decided by that uncertain arbiter the ballot box, and whether it was accomplished by aid of tissue ballots or foreign importations—methods known to modern manipulators—the canvass revealed an astonishing excess of population in both towns, with Davenport ahead.

The cry of fraud was successfully raised and a new vote ordered, the result showing the same increase in the voting population, only this time Rockingham was the winner.

In the year 1839, a short time prior to the last election mentioned, a young man from the east with a printing press, appeared on the scene and immediately became the object of intense interest to the contending parties. What inducements were offered by the leaders interested in Davenport's cause, the historians of this epoch have failed to state, but the Iowa Sun was established, and in its first issue declared its intention "to cast its rays over the moral and political landscape regardless of those petty interests and local considerations which might contract its beams," and further that, "we have selected the centre of the system around which all our territorial interests harmoniously revolve."

A bit of history gleamed from the records of the Pioneer Settlers Association contains the sequel to the story of how Davenport obtained its first newspaper. Andrew Logan, editor, proprietor and type-setter of the Sun, some years later, in responding to the toast, Pioneer Press of Scott county, refers to the county-seat strife in these words, "Prominent citizens of both places sought to negotiate with us for the aid of our press in their behalf. To Davenport we were finally sold, affections, press and all, for we loved the spot and thought we could read upon the broad and unfolded pages of her virgin hills and adjacent fertile prairies, something highly auspicious of a blooming future, but soon the bloodless war was fought and the victory was ours and the flames of excitement sublimed away into viewless air—promises and integrity, too, and we were sold—for an empty promise was our reward."

The dispute, after a struggle lasting over two years, was finally amicably terminated by compromise. Davenport secured the prize by offering to build a court-house and jail free of cost to the county.



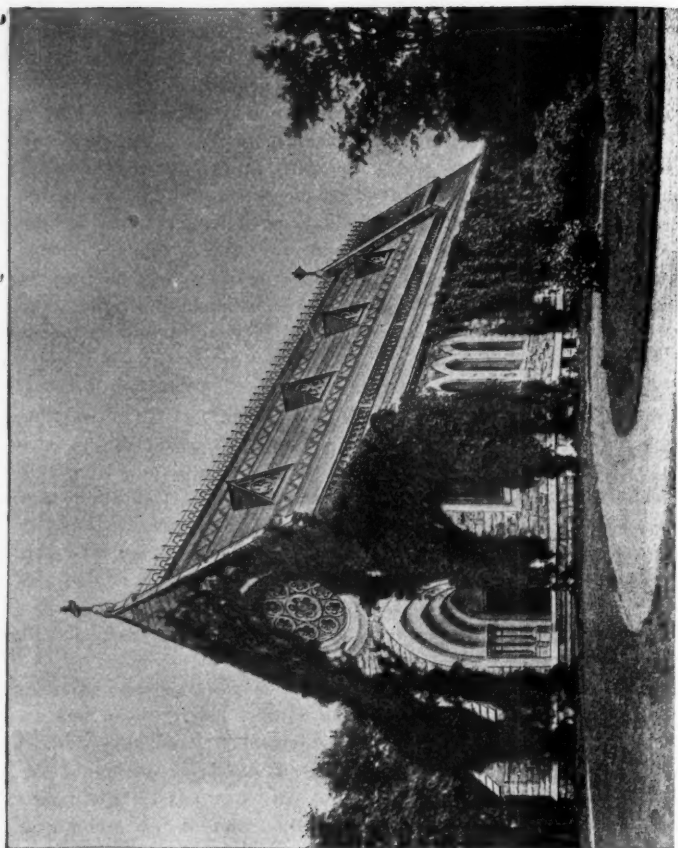
SOLDIERS' MONUMENT.

The prominent actors in the Rockingham drama soon after removed to the victorious hamlet, and with their enthusiasm and energy contributed largely to its prosperity—Dr. E. S. Barrows, Willard Barrows, Geo. B. Sargent, Ebenezer Cook and John P. Cook, not only became conspicuous figures in Davenport's history, but in their different spheres achieved national reputation. Rockingham is now numbered among the vanished towns on the Mississippi, and no trace except the name now remains.

After the smoke of battle was cleared away and the peaceful pursuits of agriculture were the most absorbing interest, the editor of the Sun seems to have been employed principally in writing accounts of the marvellous productions of Scott county's fertile soil, especially in the line of abnormal vegetable specimens. These fruitful and exciting themes flowed into the office, fired the imagination of the versatile editor and inspired astonishing pen pictures, with the odorous and famous onion of her vicinity appropriately conspicuous.

Competition was thus encouraged, and not to be outdone by his neighbors, an enterprising young horticulturist conceived the idea of a composite potato. The cleverly executed design was palmed off upon the editor as the latest mammoth production, and roused his enthusiasm to such a pitch that all former efforts in this line of description were surpassed. But there were doubters in the field, and a critical examination revealed the joke with the laugh upon the over-credulous editor, which slightly cooled his ardor.

The Sun must have extolled the upper Mississippi as a second Golden Horn, for Mr. A. C. Fulton arrived in Davenport in the early summer of 1842, with a miscellaneous stock of merchandise, which included two barrels of fish hooks. Mr. Fulton was an enterprising man and popularized his store by "marking down" the prices of his wares, but the stock of fish hooks supplied the town for many years. The scope of Mr. Fulton's talents could not long be prescribed within the narrow limits of the mercantile field afforded by Davenport, and he soon disposed of his interests and turned his attention to greater enterprises. He conceived the idea of utilizing the river for water-power by digging a canal beginning at the upper rapids and extending it on the Iowa side to the fort. He employed engineers to survey the proposed route, and work was actually begun; but enthusiasm was not sufficient



CATHEDRAL SACRED HEART.

guaranty for the enormous cost, and a project which would have converted Davenport into a Pittsburg or a Lowell in manufacturing importance, was abandoned for lack of funds. This enterprise is still one of the grand and perfectly feasible possibilities of Davenport's future.

The first religious discourse delivered in Davenport was given by the Rev. E. C. Gavitt, a Methodist missionary clergyman, in 1837, at the house of D. D. Eldridge, says a Scott county historian. Mr. Gavitt, in *Reminiscences of Pioneer Life*, states that it was in 1835, in the house of Captain Sholes, the man who built the second house erected in the place. The first church edifice dedicated was St. Anthony's Roman Catholic. This church was organized in 1838, by the Rev. Samuel Muzzuchelli, with St. Peter for its primary and St. Anthony as secondary patron. The building was for many years, church, school-house and priest's residence, and the pastor, besides ministering to the congregation in the capacity of priest, was also teacher in the school.

Antoine Le Claire donated a block of ground on which the church was built, besides being the principal contributor to the building fund. The pioneer Catholic priest, Rev. J. A. Palamorgues, assumed charge of St. Anthony's congregation in 1839. He came among the people of Davenport from France, a stranger without knowledge of English, rich only in faith—and in his great capacity for work. The school which was opened by Father Palamorgues in 1840, was the first common school taught in Davenport, and numbered among its pupils children of all denominations. Judge John F. Dillon, besides many others who have since become distinguished men, attended his school. After the death of Bishop Loras, the first bishop of the Catholic diocese of Iowa, unsolicited by himself, and without his knowledge, Father Palamorgues was appointed bishop by the Pope.

The good father, after mature reflection, decided that he was unfit for the position and undertook the journey to Rome to present his declination in person, saying that the Holy Father would believe his words when he saw him. When, after a little more than three decades of effort, Father Palamorgues severed his connection with his people and Davenport friends, to return to St. Genevieve, France, his native town and country, to spend the remainder of his days among his kinsmen, the priceless reward of appreciation that his self sacrificing labors as priest, teacher and philanthropist

had earned for him was unstintingly manifested. He was loved by all, revered by all, and the Pioneer Settler's Association, of which he was an honored member, followed him with a unanimous request to return to the field of his labors and his triumphs. Impaired health prevented the acceptance of the invitation, and soon after the news of his death was received by his Davenport friends.

The year 1856 marks a distinct epoch in the history of Davenport, for it was in that year that a railroad bridge, the first to span the great Mississippi was completed. The first locomotive, "Des Moines," to trespass upon Iowa soil from the east came over this bridge into Davenport, April 21st, of that year. The long dreamed of and fought for communication with the eastern world by rail, had been accomplished by its projectors as far as the completion of a road to the eastern bank of the river, in 1854.



FIRST BRIDGE ACROSS THE MISSISSIPPI.

But there it rested for a time. Davenport could not be reached without crossing the river and the difficulties involved in bridging it were manifold; moreover, the enterprise from the outset provoked the most bitter opposition. Rival river towns looked with jealous eyes upon the scheme, the peaceful waters of the Mississippi were in the minds of many too sacred to be disturbed by the noisy iron-horse, and in the persons of steamboat owners infringement of the ancient rights of commerce by placing obstructions upon a natural channel, was strenuously resisted. But the railroad company, regardless of the mutterings of approaching storms, pushed the terminus of the road across the river by bridge. St. Louis, armed with an injunction proceeded to have it condemned as a nuisance. This was done, and the eminent jurist, Judge Love, of the Federal Court, issued an order for its removal.

The order was, however, subsequently reversed by the Supreme Court of the United States, and the first bridge across the Mississippi remained, doing splendid railroad duty and no injury to river traffic, until it was swept away by the resistless power of the Father of Waters in its annual break-up in the spring of 1869. The counsel engaged in the famous bridge contest before the Supreme

Court, were Reverdy Johnson for the railroad, and Abraham Lincoln for the prosecution.

A railroad that should cross the continent from ocean to ocean was contemplated even in that day, and included in the plans of the irrepressible spirits that controlled Davenport's destiny, and while the Chicago and Rock Island was waiting bridge transport on the east side of the river, the Mississippi and Missouri was preparing to welcome it on the west. Amid floating banners and accompanying strains of music, the first shovel full of earth for the latter enterprise was lifted by Antoine Le Claire, September 1, 1853, and on the 21st of August, 1855, an excursion train drawn by the locomotives Le Claire and Iowa, was run over the first section of railroad constructed in Iowa.

Among the pioneers who came to Davenport before the foot-prints of the retreating red man were entirely effaced, there is one woman whose name will long be remembered. In 1869, at the death of her husband, to whom she was devotedly attached, Mrs. Clarissa C. Cook came into possession of a large fortune, and being without direct heirs, she resolved to use her surplus income for upbuilding and ornamenting the city that her husband had been actively interested in developing during his life. Mrs. Cook was a quiet, retiring, gentle woman, and her generous deeds were as unostentatiously performed as had been all the minor public acts of her former life.

In religion an Episcopalian, and warmly attached to her church, her first thought was in that direction. Soon after her husband's death Mrs. Cook erected a memorial chapel and rectory in the western part of the city; her interest in Trinity parish, of which she had been many years a member, was manifested by the gift of a magnificent church, built of stone, on one of the principal streets. This church is architecturally one of the grandest in the city, and the donor's further interest was shown at her death by directions given to the executors of her will for the placing of a chime of bells in its stately tower. In memory of her husband's active interest and expressed intention to aid the Library Association, the next important gift of Mrs. Cook was the erection of a permanent building that would amply meet its growing wants for many years.

The greatest benefaction, purely charitable in its nature, was not undertaken by this noble woman during her life. For the

purpose of founding the Clarissa C. Cook Home for the Friendless, to provide a home for destitute and indigent women, the sum of \$50,000 was bequeathed to John F. Dillon, Edward E. Cook and two other gentlemen, together with fifteen acres of land lying on



CLARISSA C. COOK HOME FOR THE FRIENDLESS.

the outskirts of the city, which was devised for the same purpose, and on which the Home was directed to be built. Under a provision of the will \$65,000 more was added to the resources of the Home. All the directions for the establishment of the Home were carefully executed. The buildings are magnificent, the grounds suitable and tasteful; it has an income sufficient to meet all demands, and under the admirable management of a Board of Trustees, composed of prominent men and women of the city, the institution is a fitting and enduring monument to the beneficence of the testatrix and a credit to Davenport.

Nicholas Fejervary, a Hungarian by birth, has been many years connected with the Cook Home as a trustee, and his interest in the work caused him to consider the desirability of a similar institution for men. Mr. Fejervary is a man of wealth, fully imbued with the spirit of the liberal giver, where his contributions will relieve distress or assist the needy, and with him, so to think, was to act in an enterprise of this nature. A desirable location was

selected, and under his personal care and supervision a beautiful building, perfectly adapted to the needs of an institution of this character has been erected. The Fejervary Home, completed the past year, has recently been opened, and like the Cook Home is amply endowed by its originator. This charity, so nobly planned, is, in part, an expression of Mr. Fejervary's gratitude to the country and city of his adoption, for the blessings of freedom which he sought and found here more than forty years ago, when disappointment, because of the failure of the revolution in which the patriot Kossuth was the leading spirit, caused him to become a voluntary exile from his native land.

Mr. Fejervary was a member of the Diet or National Legislature in those eventful days of 1843 and 1844, when the liberation



OPERA HOUSE AND TURNER HALL.

of Hungary was the burning question at issue. His life in his native country was principally spent in superintending and cultivating his large estates, and his respect for tillers of the soil is shown by limiting the benefits of the Home to sons of toil, in reduced circumstances, belonging to the agricultural classes.

In the purely benevolent work for which Davenport is noted, women have been distinguished. Indeed, the greater part of it may be justly claimed as the result of the efforts of women, who

have labored persistently and disinterestedly in this field for many years. The Ladies' Relief Society, as it exists to-day, traces in an unbroken chain its history to the Ladies' Benevolent Society organized in 1849. The beautiful building, an ornament to the city, in which this organization is now located, is the crowning evidence of long continued and intelligent effort. The Industrial Home is what its name signifies, and unites under its spacious roof the various enterprises fostered by the management for the assistance of the worthy poor. A laundry, a nursery and a sewing school are now in successful operation, with other departments in contemplation.

The Associated Charities, with an office in the same building and a qualified agent constantly employed, admirably supplements the work of the Relief Society in securing employment, investigating cases and causes of distress, and in other ways looking after the wants of the poor and unfortunate. Another worthy institution is the Nursery of the Iowa Children's Home Society, which is located at Davenport. In less than five years of its existence it has received and placed in families 625 homeless children. The Young Men's Christian Association of Davenport, has reached its twenty-sixth year, and is numbered among the successful and useful institutions of the city.

The Lend-a-Hand Club is an organization composed of working girls and women of the city, and was instituted for social recreation and the mutual benefit of its members. The underlying principle upon which the society is based is, that each member in return for benefits received shall be helpful to some one less fortunately circumstanced, and that she shall exercise special watchfulness over the young and inexperienced. The pleasant club rooms are centrally located, with library, reading room, piano, "noon-rest," evening classes, popular lectures, and a junior branch for the younger girls. From this centre radiates an influence which is more sensibly felt year by year. Eight nationalities, eleven religious denominations and twenty-four different occupations are represented in the club membership. The Woman's Alliance is a representative organization, with the special object of securing for women and girls who fall under the cognizance of the law, the attendance of one of their own sex. As a result of the efforts of the society, Davenport has what no other Iowa town has, a police matron.

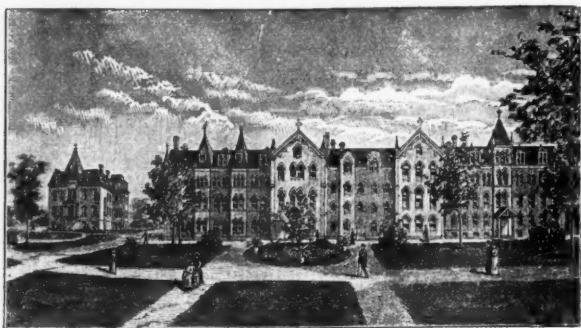
The Iowa Soldiers' Orphans' Home was established and located at Davenport soon after the close of the war, and was maintained as such until the year 1880. At that time the great and noble work of caring for the destitute children of the state, orphaned and made homeless by the exigencies of war, was by its own limitations drawing to a conclusion, and the Home was converted by the state legislature into a general orphan asylum.

The Home began its existence in a military camp just outside the city limits, and the excellent barracks which had so recently sheltered cavalry soldiers became homes for soldiers' orphans. Whether the idea was suggested because of the numerous low, long, white-washed buildings that could be so readily utilized, or because of the greater wisdom of its originators, cannot now be stated, but the institution was from the beginning, as it now is, conducted on the cottage system, which embraces as nearly as possible the most essential features of the family home. With the reconstruction of the Home in its present permanent form, every trace of its original use is obliterated. The main building is a handsome structure built of pressed brick; the two-story brick cottages, commodious hospital and fine school building, flanking it on either side in form of a half circle, make a conspicuous and attractive group in the beautiful landscape which surrounds it. There are at present 400 children gathered from the alms-houses, and the poverty stricken homes of the state, including the soldiers' orphans still remaining, that are being carefully reared, trained, and educated for citizenship in the Home.

The institution is a credit to the liberal spirit of the people of the great commonwealth that can point with pride to a record for the lowest percentage of illiteracy and pauperism of any state in the union. To Mrs. Annie Wittenmeyer, who achieved a national reputation for relief work during the war, belongs the credit of being the principal founder of the home. In a letter over her signature, dated March, 1888, she says: "I matured the plan during the Mississippi river campaign, which culminated in the surrender of Vicksburg, in July, 1863. It was in the hospitals where I saw hundreds of Iowa men facing death, whose one anxiety was for their children, that the thought came to me, and many a dying soldier was comforted by the assurance that I would undertake the enterprise."

The barracks built upon confiscated ground, belonged to the government, but through Mrs. Wittenmeyer's intimate acquaintance and influence with government officials at Washington, the property was secured and finally turned over to her by Secretary Stanton, together with an immense quantity of hospital supplies, subject however to the approval of Congress. By the time Congress convened, 500 soldiers' orphans were in possession of the property, with a warm friend of the cause from Davenport, as member of the House to plead for them. The next important step was to secure the adoption of the Home by the state. With this mission accomplished, Mrs. Wittenmeyer severed her connection with it to pursue her philanthropic labors in other fields.

If caring for the aged, the homeless, and the destitute, the sick and the unfortunate is applied as a test of civilization, Davenport, for all these humanitarian works, will take high rank. In addition to the many public and private institutions devoted to these purposes, the largest, best appointed and conducted hospital west of Chicago, has been in successful operation for many years.



MERCY HOSPITAL.

The history of Mercy Hospital, conducted, as its name would imply, by the Sisters of Mercy, from those bitter mid-winter days of 1868, when a small band of intrepid, hopeful, black-habited women first occupied the lone, ill-adapted building, on what seemed at that time the bleakest prairie, for the purpose of founding a hospital, up to its present magnificent building proportions,

and ideally beautiful grounds, is replete with historic interest. Never was the courage born of conviction put to a severer test than in those early hospital days. A less stout heart, a less active brain, a less warm faith than were possessed by Rev. Mother Boromeo, who was at the head of the institution, would have succumbed under the disadvantages and discouragements that beset the enterprise. Mother Boromeo lived only long enough to see the hospital pass the crucial experimental period, but the work so successfully inaugurated by her has since been carried on by scarcely less able hands.

Another large hospital, which will be to some extent a charity hospital, is to be opened in the very heart of the city in the near future.

Bishop Perry has recently purchased a fine property for the purpose, and a hospital which will be conducted upon the most approved principles, will be reconstructed out of the commodious building that now occupies the grounds. Among the private institutions of this nature in the city, the Woman's Hospital, conducted by Dr. Jennie McCowen, is worthy of especial mention.

M. PECK.

THE CATHOLIC DIOCESE OF DAVENPORT.

RIGHT REV. BISHOP McMULLEN. RIGHT REV. BISHOP COSGROVE.

Says Rev. James McGovern, D.D., in his life of Bishop McMullen: "Long before the diocese of Chicago was created by the sovereign pontiff, Dubuque had been erected into an Episcopal See, embracing the territories of Iowa and Minnesota. On December 10, 1837, the Right Reverend Mathias Loras, D.D., a native of Lyons, France, was consecrated at Mobile, Alabama, the first bishop of this diocese. At the time there was but one church in the whole territory of Iowa, and Rev. Samuel Mazzuchelli was the only resident priest. Bishop Loras, after his consecration, returned to France for the purpose of securing missionaries for his new diocese. Leaving France in October of 1838, he arrived in New York, after a long and tempestuous passage, bringing with him Rev. Joseph Cretin, afterward bishop of St. Paul, Rev. A. Pelamorgues and four seminarians. Bishop Loras



BISHOP MCMULLEN.

took possession of his new diocese, and was installed in the church of St. Raphael, April 29, 1839, commencing his Episcopal duties with three priests and four theological students. Father Pelamorgues was assigned to the extensive mission of Davenport, which comprised all the southern part of the territory. . . . He did so well in laying the corner stone of the church, in this vast field of labor, that neither time nor human events have changed his foresight and he had the consolation of seeing large and prosperous Catholic communities grow up around him." It was therefore Father Pelamorgues—as he became familiarly known to every body in Davenport—who laid the foundation of the Davenport diocese. A man of splendid organizing ability, deep piety and earnest devotion to the cause to which he had consecrated his life, he greatly advanced the upbuilding of the church, remaining at Davenport until he had reached a venerable age, when he sought retirement at his home in France, preferring this to the prospective reward of a bishopric.

During the administration of Bishop Loras, the diocese of St. Paul had been segregated from the original diocese of Dubuque, and during the administration of his immediate successor, Right Rev. Clement Smyth, D.D., the rapid growth of the church caused another division of the diocese to be considered. Under the administration however of Right Rev. John Hennessy, D.D., who became Bishop of Dubuque after the death of Bishop Smyth—division was postponed until 1881, when the new diocese of Davenport was created. The Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda announced that the city of Davenport had been decided on as the See City of the new diocese, which would take in all that part of the State of Iowa bounded on the east by the Mississippi River, on the west by the Missouri River, on the south by the State of Missouri, and on the north by the northern boundaries of the counties of Harrison, Shelby, Audubon, Guthrie, Dallas, Polk, Jasper, Poweshiek, Iowa, Johnson, Cedar and Scott. A special cable, dated at Rome, May 9, 1881, conveyed this further intelligence: "On Sunday, May 8, 1881, the feast of the patronage of St. Joseph, it pleased our Holy Father Pope Leo XIII., first to ratify the creation of the diocese of Davenport, Iowa, cut from the diocese of Dubuque, which comprised the whole State of Iowa; second, to name the Very Rev. John McMullen, D.D., V.G. of Chicago, to be the first bishop of Davenport. This See will be a Suffragan of the Metropolitan See of St. Louis."

To briefly sketch the further development of the diocese, and the lives of the able and zealous clergymen who have controlled its destinies since its organization, is the further purpose of this chapter of church history. The newly appointed Bishop McMullen was at the time of his elevation to the Episcopacy Vicar-general of the diocese of Chicago, had long held a pastorate in that city, and was greatly beloved by all classes of people.

He was a native of Ireland, having been born in Ballanyhinch, County Down, January 8, 1832. His father, James McMullen, and Alice, his wife, sailed for America when he was little more than a year old, and after a long and stormy voyage they landed at Quebec. For three years the family lived on a farm near Quebec, and later the elder McMullen established his home on another farm near Prescott, in the province of Ontario. Here a fire destroyed the homestead and they removed to the neighborhood of Ogdensburg, New York, where they resided until 1843, when they removed to Illinois. The boy who was afterward to become Bishop McMullen, was twelve years old when his parents settled in Chicago. Prior to this time he had attended only a country school, but he had given evidence of strong intellectuality, and when afforded the advantages of educational training in the schools of Chicago he made rapid advancement. When Bishop Quarter founded the University of St. Mary of the Lake, John McMullen entered the new college and therein received his academic training. "In his academic course," says Dr. McGovern, in the biography from which I have before quoted, "he gave undoubted proof of his future career. His triumphs of eloquence in debate, his caustic pen, his sound judgment and his mastery of the most intricate problems in mathematical science, caused him to come under the approving eye of his professors. In a little college paper, issued by him and another class-mate, his intellectual weapons flashed with unwonted brilliancy, and the seeds of literature sowed in his powerful mind blossomed with a vigor which made itself remarkable in its fruits."

A deep piety and a remarkable capacity for influencing the character and conduct of his associates, were distinguishing features of his early life and his fitness for the priesthood as well as his evident desire to enter that holy calling were noted by his teachers and friends. At the close of his college course in 1850, he received the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and soon afterwards entered upon a course of theological study.



Engr. by E. Williams & Co. N.Y.

+ Henry Casperson
Bishop of Davenport

In 1852, while pursuing these studies, he was directed by his physician to give up the routine for a time, and while obeying this injunction he devoted himself to writing for publication a series of letters which constituted an important contribution to the Catholic literature of that period. In the fall of 1853, in company with James McGovern, now a noted Catholic clergyman and author, he was sent by Bishop Van de Velde, of the Chicago diocese, to the College of the Propaganda at Rome, where he pursued a few years' course of study. In the summer of 1858, he was ordained a minister of the Catholic Church, and received from Cardinal Barnabo the insignia of Doctor of Divinity. He immediately left Rome for the United States and arrived in Chicago in October of that year. Immediately after his return home, he engaged actively in ministerial work, and one of his first important acts was the founding of the House of the Good Shepherd, an institution which has been grandly prolific of good results. In 1861, he was appointed to take charge of the Cathedral of the Holy Name, but in a short time he was called to the Presidency of the University of St. Mary of the Lake, a position which he retained for several years. In 1870, he became rector of the Cathedral of the Holy Name, and continued to discharge the duties of this pastorate until he was made bishop of Davenport. In the meantime he was appointed vicar-general to Bishop Foley, and continued in this position by Archbishop Feehan, when that renowned ecclesiastic succeeded to the bishopric left vacant by the death of Bishop Foley. Such is a brief sketch of the early life of the man appointed first bishop of Davenport. A profound scholar, an eloquent preacher and an ardent churchman, when he took charge of the new diocese he threw himself into the work of building up the church in the promising field to which he had been assigned, with the ardor of an enthusiast. On the 30th day of July, 1881, Bishop McMullen arrived in Davenport, and received a royal welcome not only from the people of his own church, but from citizens of Davenport generally. After the ceremonies incident to his installation, he took up his abode with Father Cosgrove, who for twenty-five years had been the pastor of St. Marguerite's Church, and after a few days rest began a visitation of his diocese in order to become acquainted with its condition. He speedily placed himself *en rapport*, not only with the clergy, but with the congregations of his diocese, and all became devotedly attached to the good man under whose guidance and through whose

well directed efforts the interests of the church were rapidly advanced. The priests of the diocese purchased and presented to him as an episcopal house the beautiful home of Antoine LeClaire,* situated on a historic bluff overlooking the three cities of Davenport, Moline and Rock Island, and numerous other testimonials of their regard came to him from time to time. In five months he visited almost every point in the diocese and confirmed more than six thousand people. The labors which he undertook were too arduous however, to be long endured, and in the first year of his administratorship his health broke down, and after a long continued illness he passed away, on the 4th of July, 1883, mourned by the church and the general public of his diocese, as well as by thousands of Catholics in Chicago and elsewhere, where he was known. When Bishop McMullen began his labors in Davenport he had selected St. Marguerite's as the Cathedral Church, and Rev. Henry Cosgrove, D.D., pastor of that church, as Vicar-general of the diocese. Becoming thus the bishop's chief executive in looking after the affairs of the diocese, a large measure of responsibility for its welfare devolved at once upon Father Cosgrove. He had a more extensive acquaintance throughout the diocese than any other priest, and a more intimate knowledge than any of them of the condition of the various parishes, of the opportunities for church extension and of the educational and charitable work to be looked after.

In his capacity as Vicar-general he was called upon, when Bishop McMullen was stricken with the illness which ended his life, to take charge in great measure of diocesan affairs, and while the good bishop, up to the last hour of his life never lost interest in these affairs, it was Father Cosgrove who received his instructions and executed his plans. Brought thus into a most intimate relationship to the diocese as a whole, and having demonstrated his fitness for the high office of a bishop of the church, by actual performance of many of the duties incident thereto, it was natural that there should have been on the part of the clergy of the diocese a desire that the Rev. Dr. Cosgrove should become successor to Bishop McMullen. A petition to this effect, signed by nearly all the priests of the diocese, was sent to Rome, this being, it is said, the first instance in the history of the church in the United States in which the priests of a diocese petitioned for the appointment of one of their number

*Vide National Magazine, November, 1893.

as bishop. It received the favorable consideration of the Cabinet of Cardinals and Father Cosgrove became second bishop of Davenport.

A native of the United States, Bishop Cosgrove was born in Williamsport, Pennsylvania, December 19, 1834. His father, John Cosgrove, was a native of Ireland, who immigrated to this country with his young wife and settled in Pennsylvania in 1830. In 1845 the family removed to Dubuque, Iowa, and it was here that Bishop Henry Cosgrove received his early education. As a boy he was one of the acolytes in the old Cathedral of Dubuque, when Bishop Loras was at the head of the diocese, and his early inclinations were toward the priesthood. When he was fifteen years of age he began the course of study which was to fit him for holy orders under the tutelage of Rev. Joseph Creton, then vicar-general of the diocese of Dubuque, and later first Bishop of the diocese of St. Paul. After the course of study with Father Creton, he went to St. Mary's Seminary in Missouri, where he completed a three years' classical course and then entered the noted seminary at Carondelet, Missouri, where he took a full course in theology. Returning to Dubuque when he had completed his studies, he was ordained priest by Bishop Smyth, coadjutor of Bishop Loras, on the 27th of August, 1857, and a few days later he became assistant pastor of St. Marguerite's church in Davenport. Rev. A. Trevis, who at that time held the pastorate of St. Marguerite's, resigned for a long absence in Europe, and at the end of a few years Father Cosgrove succeeded to the full pastorate, which he held up to the time of his appointment as bishop. During the twenty-five years of his pastoral connection with this church, he shrank from no responsibility, neglected no duty, and overlooked no opportunity to advance the cause to which he had consecrated himself. The church and its schools flourished, large and handsome buildings were erected for their accommodation under his supervision and in many ways the pastor of St. Marguerite's demonstrated that he was a man of superior executive ability, as well as an able preacher. His relations with the non-catholic population of Davenport were of a most friendly character, and his appointment to the vacant bishopric was hailed with delight by Catholics and Protestants alike. When his commission as bishop had been received and duly presented to Archbishop Kendrick at St. Louis, Bishop Cosgrove returned to his home to be greeted by churchmen of his own faith, city officials of Davenport, representatives of various social and business organizations and the public generally, with an enthusiasm

which evidenced a remarkable attachment to him in the city with which he had been identified for a quarter of a century. The solemn and impressive ceremony of consecration took place in St. Marguerite's Cathedral on the 14th of September, 1884, and clothed with the full powers of a bishop, Rev. Dr. Cosgrove went forth to carry forward the work of which he had in reality had charge for many months previous to that time. His faithful and efficient labors during his administration are evidenced by the fact that the membership of the Catholic church in this diocese has increased from forty thousand to fifty-six thousand. The number of priests has increased from seventy-nine to one hundred and eight, and the number of churches from one hundred and twenty-one to one hundred and sixty. He has confirmed in all over sixteen thousand persons, and to his energy and resourcefulness the diocese is indebted for some of the handsomest church edifices to be found in the West. As a clergyman of the Catholic faith he is greatly beloved by his priests and people, and as a man, broad-minded and liberal in his ideas, courteous in his intercourse with those who entertain beliefs different from his own, and a potent factor in elevating the moral standard of a large community, he is held in high esteem by all classes of people.

WILLIAM RENWICK.

The half dozen years last past have brought unusual sorrow to Davenport in the loss of several of those strong, self-reliant, and sagacious business men who had been most conspicuous in the industrial life of the city, and who had been largely instrumental in developing its resources, in building up its public institutions, and giving it its present high character and standing among the cities of the west. Wm. Renwick, who was widely known all over the west by reason of his extensive business connections, and still more widely known as a traveler and art collector, was one of those who passed away during this period. The old Scotch family of Renwick is one with a history dating back to the Crusades, when Sir Patrick Renwick was numbered among the valiant defenders of the Cross. During the reign of King James VII., James Renwick, one of the most zealous and intrepid of the Presbyterian preachers of that era, suffered martyrdom at the Cross of Edinburgh, in



Wm Renwick

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1688, and is known in history as the last Protestant martyr in Scotland.

The blood of the Drummond family mingled with that of the Renwicks in later generations, and from this illustrious ancestry descended Hon. James Renwick, a venerable gentleman still living in Davenport. James Renwick married Elizabeth Locherby, whose family connections, the Carruthers, and the Kirkpatrick, of Closeburn, were not less distinguished than his own as representatives of the old Border families of Scotland, notable for their deep seated convictions, profound piety and love of liberty. Of this parentage, William Renwick was born, in Liverpool, England, June 24th, 1829. Inheriting from this ancestry, keen perceptive faculties, courage, self-reliance, thrift and sagacity, he received careful educational and industrial training in early youth, in the city of Liverpool, and in 1846, the year of Iowa's admission into the Union as a state he came with his parents to this country. They settled in Davenport, and Mr. Renwick continued his studies in Iowa College, which was founded in Davenport about that time, and of which he was one of the first students. Here his father engaged in the grain and commission business, and four years later, when he attained his majority, he became a member of the firm of Renwick & Son. The warehouse belonging to this firm, on the levee was the first agency of the American Express Company, and later, the first agency of the United States Express Company, in Davenport. This was during the period antedating the advent of railroads into Iowa, and in those days the Mississippi river was the great avenue of trade in this section. The business of the firm of Renwick & Son followed this and tributary water courses, and extended to St. Louis, New Orleans, Memphis, Vicksburg, Louisville, Cincinnati, Pittsburg and smaller cities, which received through their enterprise, as forwarders, vast quantities of the products of the Mississippi valley. The training, which he received during this early portion of his business career was one well calculated to fit him for the larger and more important enterprises of his later life. It not only gave him a business acquaintance extending over a wide area of country, but made him familiar with the resources as well as the needs of this vast region.

In 1852, the firm became engaged in the lumber trade, first as dealers, and then as manufacturers. In 1854, they built a comparatively small mill, at Davenport, with capacity for an annual output of something like a million feet, and began with others the

development of that wonderful system of lumber production, which has supplied the material for building up hundreds of towns and cities, and countless thousands of homes now dotting the prairies of the west. To those unacquainted with the history of this great industry, a brief notice of the method of its development will be of interest. Early explorers of the upper Mississippi river made mention of the magnificent forests which lined the river on either side, but generations came and passed away before these vast forests began to play any important part in the advancement of civilization. Then mills were constructed here and there in the timber region, and the lumber product was distributed to settlements along the river. It was soon discovered, however, that a more expeditious and economical way of marketing the lumber product was to locate the mill in an established trade centre, and to leave to the great river and the forces of nature the work of bringing to the mill its raw material. Then was inaugurated the system of felling trees in vast numbers, carrying them into the river by various devices, forming them into rafts, floating or towing, and later pushing by means of steamboats, which made this their principal business, these rafts down to the mills, from whence the manufactured product was distributed to the interior or elsewhere, as the demands of trade required. In 1859, Mr. Renwick became sole proprietor of the mill which he had previously conducted in company with his father, and his genius for operating on a large scale soon became conspicuously apparent. He had a wonderful capacity for organizing large enterprises and a keen foresight, which seemed to amount to an intuitive perception of the trend of industrial development. Recognizing fully the importance of details in the conduct of business enterprises, he had no taste for attention to these details himself, but committed all such matters to subordinates. In the selection of these assistants, an exceptionally good judgment of men, and a happy faculty of correctly estimating their capacities, enabled him to place his minor interests always in safe hands, while he gave his whole time and attention to more important matters. From the time he assumed control and management of the business, it expanded with wonderful rapidity, his sagacious investments developed into a handsome fortune, and in 1875, he sought relaxation from his arduous and exacting labors through the organization of a partnership, under which the firm became Renwick, Shaw & Crossett. Increasing the capacity of the mill, this firm continued its operation until 1885, when the

partnership was dissolved, the partners giving their attention thereafter to the extensive interest which they had acquired in the pineries. When released from the cares of active business, in a measure, Mr. Renwick turned his attention to travel and to the gratification of an inherent love of the beautiful in art, as well as nature. Married first, in 1855, to Miss Cynthia Seymour, of Davenport, he traveled much with his family, both in this country and abroad, until 1877, when Mrs. Renwick died. In 1879, he married Miss Helen P. Goodwin, of Akron, Ohio, a lady of culture and intelligence, who shared with him the extensive travels of his later life. Mr. and Mrs. Renwick first became acquainted while traveling abroad, and a similarity of tastes led to their spending much of their time in the old world, and their only son, a lad now seven years of age, was born in Berlin.

In the course of their travels, many of the art treasures of Europe were collected and transferred to their beautiful residence, in Davenport, serving to make it one of the most notable homes in the State of Iowa, and the charming cordiality with which those entering this home were received, was always one of its chief attractions. Courteous in manner, entertaining in conversation, and generous in his impulses, Mr. Renwick made warm and lasting friendships, and was particularly happy in his domestic life.

While his business operations extended over a vast territory, he was ever mindful of the best interests of Davenport, and thoroughly identified with its material upbuilding. He was one of the organizers of the Davenport Board of Trade, and served three years as its president. One of the incorporators of the company which built the first street railway in Davenport, he was a director of the corporation many years, and vice-president a portion of that time. He was interested in the Davenport National Bank, and served as a director of that institution twenty years. The Davenport Woolen Mills, and the Lindsay Land and Lumber Company, were other enterprises with which he was identified, and he was at the time of his death an active member of the Davenport Business Men's Association. Immediately after his death, which occurred on the 12th of January, 1889, the last named association, thoroughly representative of the city, adopted resolutions setting forth that in the death of Mr. Renwick, Davenport had lost one of its builders, and that "to the life of the deceased, both public and private, the city owed a large degree of its growth and prosperity." For many years he

was a stockholder and director in the Central Union Telephone Company, of Chicago, and the representatives of that corporation also paid a warm tribute to his moral worth and high character as a business man. He was a member and liberal contributor to the famous Davenport Academy of Natural Sciences, and his church affiliations were with the First Presbyterian Church of Davenport, of which, from early manhood to the day of his death, he was an honored member.

TO WASHINGTON.

How grandly single stands our Washington !
Or after, or before, none nobler rose ;
He, blessed in home and fortune, hies him on
To lead embattled hosts, and brave war's woes.
Trusting in God, though dark the prospect grows ;
Wise, manly, virtuous, e'er his country's stay ;
Censured by friends, and villified by foes,
He firm remained, nor thought of giving way ;
And when the cause was won, scorned Power's alluring sway.

LEONARD IRVING.

NEWARK, N. J., INCORPORATED.—II.

SOME OF ITS PUBLIC MEN.

In 1836, when Newark was incorporated as a city, its population was 19,732. The previous year had been one of extraordinary prosperity. Its whaling company had sent out an expedition which subsequently returned with 3,000 barrels of oil and 15,000 pounds of bone. The exports of the town to the southern ports of the United States, South America, and the West Indies exceeded eight million of dollars, and these exports consisted chiefly of the manufactured goods produced in its numerous factories. So great had been the increase of population that new streets were laid out in every direction, large numbers of buildings of every description were erected, and real estate advanced in value beyond all precedent. Alas, the crash came in 1837. Banks and factories toppled and fell, capitalists ate in tears, and workmen begged upon the streets. Newark lost more than 2,000 of its population, as its census three years afterwards proved. All this, however, and far more, it regained during the next five years, and went onward, prospering and to prosper, until the periodic panic in financial affairs came again in 1857. It was a repetition of the old story—broken banks, railroad wrecks, dilapidated factories, bankrupt capitalists and starving laborers. In 1859 the skies cleared and business resumed its wonted course throughout the land. The carriage manufacturers, the shoe shops, the harness makers, the clothiers and the hundreds of other artisans were once more as busy as ever in sending their productions to the people of the southern states who were the principal customers for their wares. In less than two years, however, Newark's workshops were once more shut up, and instead of her products, she was now sending to the south armed regiments to stay hands that had been raised in rebellion against the Constitution and the Union. Newark appreciated the ruin that stared her in the face at the commencement of this civil strife, but she met bravely the demands upon her patriotism. Her merchants, her manufacturers and her pro-

fessional men stood shoulder to shoulder in the fight; and when her scarred veterans returned to their homes, the places of those whom they left behind them were rapidly filled up by comrades from every portion of the land, who became numbered among her most valued citizens. Of more of these, as well as of those who went directly from Newark to the battle-field, reckless of every thing save the preservation of their country, we hope to speak hereafter.

ALLAN LEE BASSETT.

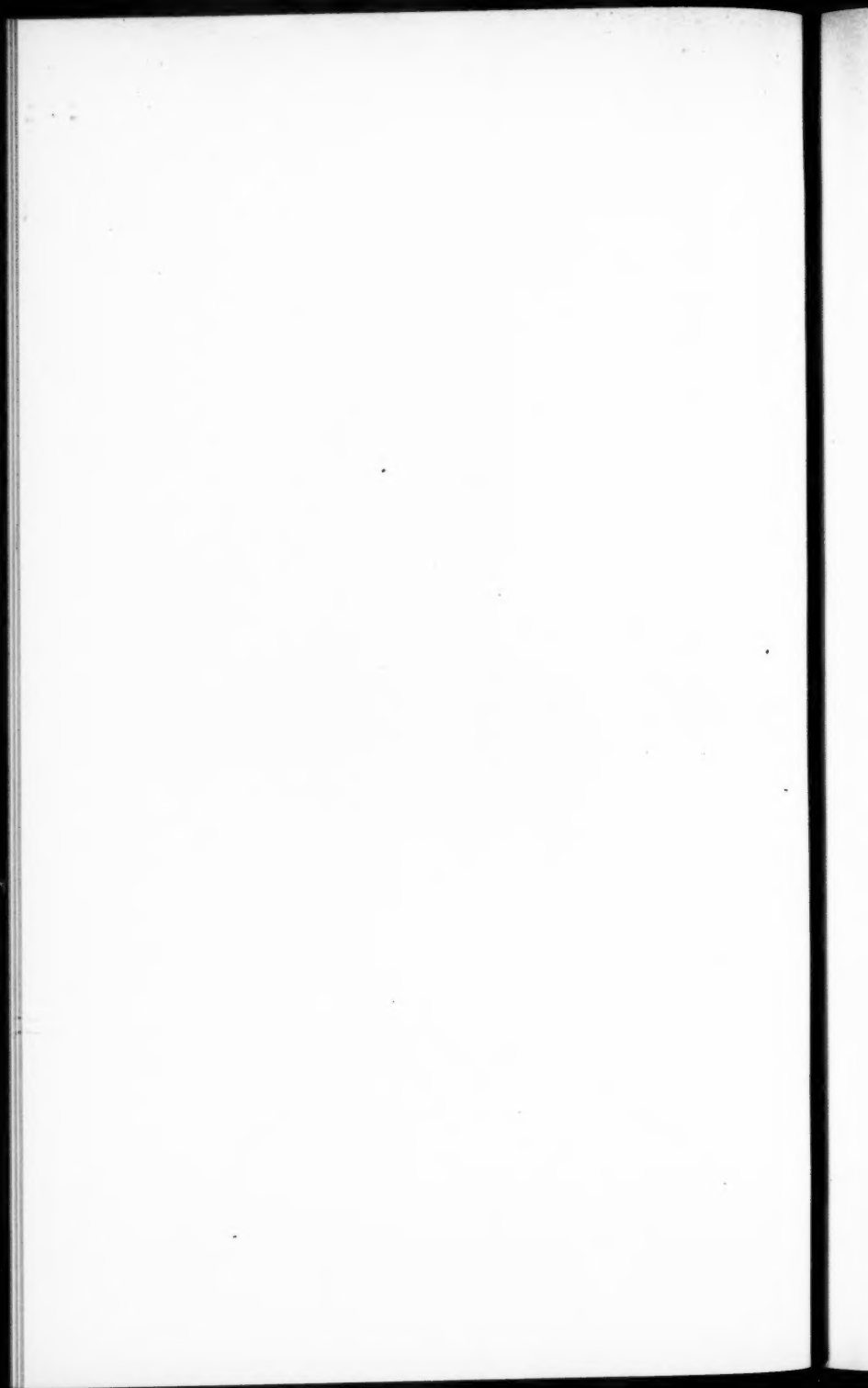
Allan Lee Bassett, a soldier in the War of the Rebellion, an able editor and writer, a successful financier, was born near Birmingham, Conn., February 28, 1827. His ancestors were of old Puritan stock, William Bassett, the first of the name in America, having arrived at New Plymouth, November 11th, 1621, in the "small ship Fortune," which sailed one year after the Mayflower, bringing such families and parts of families as could not be comfortably accommodated in the latter named vessel. His ancestors were no less distinguished on the side of his mother, Nancy Lee, a lineal descendant in the sixth generation, of John Eliot, the Apostle, who emigrated in 1631 from England to Massachusetts, where he made himself famous, not only for his learning and his labors and sufferings as a missionary, but also for the fact that he was the first settler in America who essayed to establish a republic upon its shores.

The parents of the subject of this sketch desired to educate him for one of the learned professions, as in the case of his brothers, Eliot and Benjamin, both of whom were graduated from Yale College, the one subsequently becoming a minister and the other a physician. Young Bassett was accordingly sent to Hopkins' Grammar School, where he received a thorough preparation for a college career. His enterprising spirit and urgent desire to take part in the busy scenes of life could not, however, brook the delay which must attend the necessary preparation for admission to the legal profession, as was the intention of his parents. Accordingly, at the age of eighteen, he went to New York city, where in due time he began the life of a merchant and a manufacturer. For twenty years he conducted business successfully in that city, making Brooklyn his place of residence. When the



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Wm. L. Gannett



first sounds of an approaching conflict between the North and South were heard, he was fired with a desire to take a part in the contest. With his characteristic zeal he organized a military company, which became known as the Brooklyn Greys, and of which he was made captain. On offering his services to the government, this spirited body of soldiers was attached, under the name of Company D, to the 23d Regiment, National Guard of N. Y. At its head Captain Bassett marched to the seat of war early in 1863, and especially at Gettysburg, and in the riots at New York, he displayed the courage and activity for which he had been noted from boyhood. With no ambition for military position, he remained at the head of his company until the close of the war when he retired as simply Captain Bassett, a title that clung to him throughout the remainder of his life.

On returning to his home in Brooklyn, he disposed of his business in New York, resigned his commission in the regiment, and, with his family removed to Irvington, a suburb of the city of Newark, N. J. The quiet life which he here began to lead found its enjoyment chiefly in books and study, but unable to content himself with being a mere consumer, it was not long before he fixed upon a plan to make his reading and study profitable to others as well as pleasing to himself. This was effected by the establishment of a periodical, to which he gave the name of the Northern Monthly and New Jersey Magazine, and of which he was the editor and sole proprietor. It made its first appearance in May, 1866, and met with a hearty welcome. Its editorial department gives abundant evidence of Captain Bassett's literary culture as well as of his good taste and gracefulness as a writer. Two years of close application in the editorial chair, after several years of toil and excitement in the camp and field, did not, however, prove to be the rest which he anticipated. Finding that he must abandon the pen, for which he had exchanged the sword, he finally sold the magazine to the Putnams of New York, and it was thereafter published as "Putnam's Magazine and Northern Monthly."

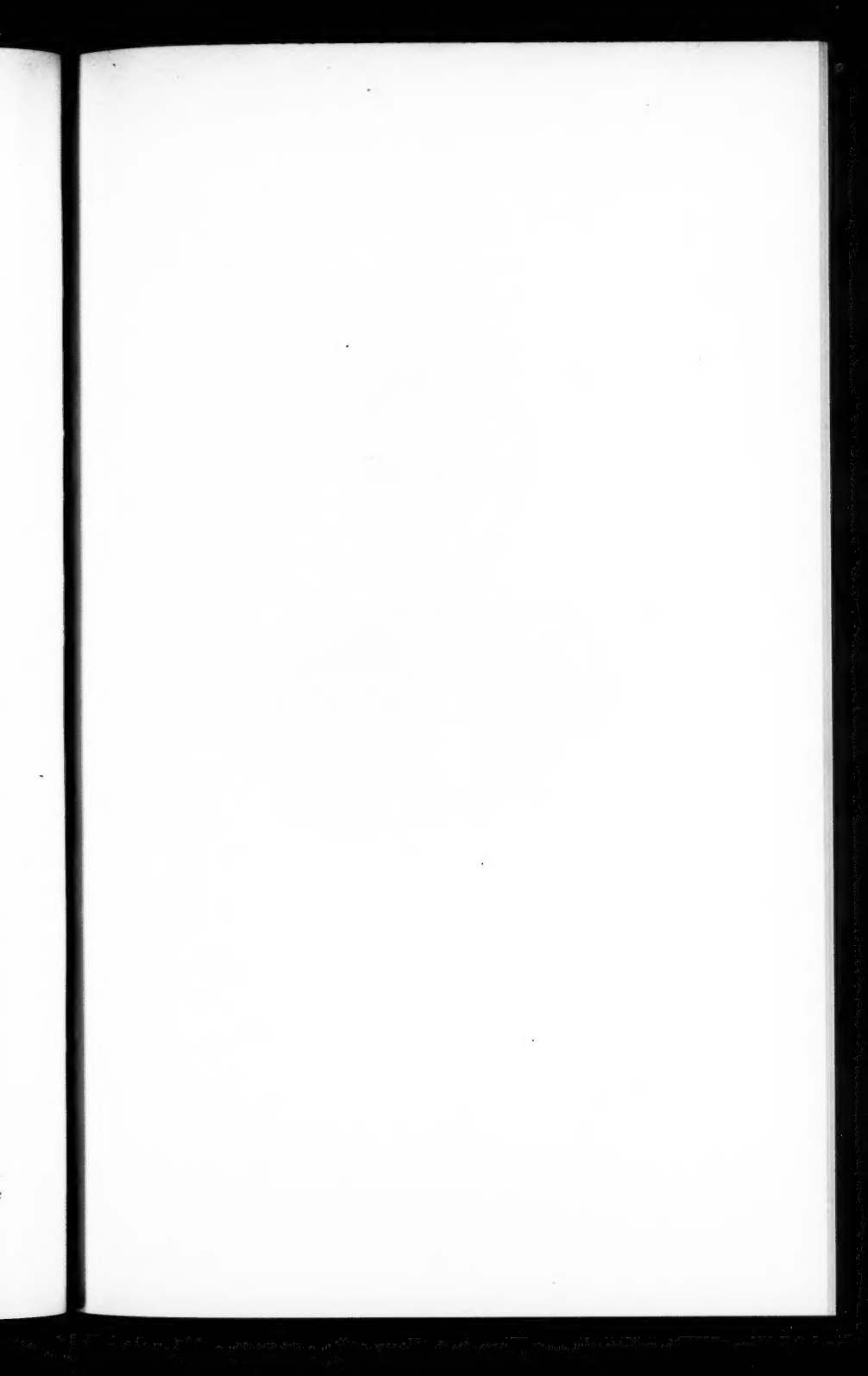
Believing that an occupation which could afford him exercise in the open air would be beneficial to him, he engaged, soon after abandoning the editorial chair in 1870, in the real estate business. The financial panic which took place during the following two years drove all land speculators from the market, and with them went his occupation as well as a large share of his earnings. On the return

of better times, he undertook, in 1875, the reorganization of the Prudential Friendly Society, and formed the Prudential Insurance Company, now one of the most important institutions of its kind in the country. He became its first president, and largely through his efforts, the company was placed upon the basis which made possible the wonderful success which has attended all its operations. But differences of opinion arising in the conduct of its affairs, he withdrew in 1879 and soon afterwards associated himself with the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company of New York as Superintendent, a position which he occupied throughout the remainder of his life, making Newark his residence.

Though a staunch Republican in politics, and for several years chairman of the Essex County Republican Committee, Captain Bassett never sought public office. Nevertheless, he was always among the foremost in enterprises whose aim was the welfare of the community in which he dwelt. Of the Board of Trade of the city of Newark he was a prominent and influential member, and so great was the confidence of this body in him as a leader that he was elected as its president for four terms, an honor without precedent in its history. He was also a member of the Washington Association, which was established for the purpose of purchasing and preserving Washington's headquarters at Morristown, N. J. In the New Jersey Historical Society he also manifested much interest, and labored zealously to secure a fire-proof building for its valuable collections. From early life he was an earnest consistent Christian, active in every good word and work. His genial nature endeared him to every one who knew him, and his wonderful energy and executive abilities gave him prominence in every movement, public or private, in which he took part. He died at Newark, N. J., December 14, 1892.

At a meeting of the Board of Trade held in his memory, Hon. Cortlandt Parker said: "To be with the board on this occasion is a positive duty in view of my own long life here in Newark, of my knowledge of him, and my belief of what the city owes to his unaffected but fearless advocacy of what he thought was right. He was nothing but as a citizen and he was everything that a citizen should be. He was never chosen for public office, but where is the man who devised so much for the benefit of this city? Where is the man of whom it can be said that his thoughts were always on what would enhance the prosperity, the fame too and the good order and value of the city in which we live? I know of no man who was his equal in this respect; certainly I know of no man who was his superior."

In December, 1853, Captain Bassett married Caroline Phillips, daughter of John Phillips, M.D., of Bristol, Pa. Six children were





Edmund L. Jay

the fruit of this union, but the wife and four children died, during his residence in Brooklyn, between 1855 and 1865. The survivors are Allena, wife of Rev. John Balcom Shaw, D.D., of New York city, and Carrol Phillips Bassett, of Newark, N. J. He married a second time, 1866, Mrs. Annie S. Richards, of New York city, who still survives.

EDMUND L. JOY.

In 1630, ten years after the landing of the Pilgrims on Plymouth Rock, John Winthrop, who in the previous year had been elected governor of Massachusetts Bay, sailed thither from Yarmouth, England, with a colony of 900 persons. In this great company was one Thomas Joy, the first American ancestor of the subject of this sketch. From him sprang a numerous progeny now scattered throughout New England and the Middle States. One of his descendants was Nathaniel Joy, who made an enviable record as a soldier in the War of the Revolution, leaving a number of children, of whom one was Charles Joy, who in 1833, married Harriet Shaw, a descendant of Anthony Stoddard, an emigrant from England in 1639. These were the parents of Edmund L. Joy, who was born in Albany, N. Y., October 1, 1835. Mr. Charles Joy removed to Newark, N. J., in 1855, and here he engaged in a very extensive wholesale provision business, which he conducted with great success until 1873, when he died.

Edmund L. Joy, his son, was denied none of the advantages of education which a generous and prosperous father could afford. His preparatory training was received in Albany at Anthony's Classical Institute, and the Albany Academy. Subsequently he entered the University of Rochester, from which institution having been graduated, he began the study of the law, and was admitted to the bar of New York in 1857. Soon thereafter he removed to Ottumwa, Iowa, where he established himself in the practice of his profession. So great was his success, that before the expiration of three years he received the appointment of city attorney, an office which he continued to hold until the breaking out of the War of the Rebellion. This event aroused the patriotism inherited from revolutionary sires. Laying aside his briefs and law books, he at once offered his services to the cause of the Union, and became very active in the work of raising troops, and otherwise aiding the government in the west. His

zeal was not, however, confined to urging others into the field—he determined also to enter it himself. This resolution was received with acclaim by those with whom he had been associated in his labors, and in recognition of his valuable services, he was given a captaincy in the Thirty-sixth Regiment of Iowa Infantry, and in 1862 was mustered into the United States service. For two years he served with great activity in the field, leading his company not only upon long and dangerous expeditions, but on many occasions into encounters with the enemy. During the Vicksburg campaign he was with the Yazoo Pass Expedition. In 1864 he was appointed by President Lincoln Major and Judge-advocate, United States Volunteers, and assigned to duty in the Seventh Army Corps, commanded by Major-General Frederick Steele. Subsequently he was made Judge-advocate of the Department of the Arkansas, with headquarters at Little Rock. In this capacity he had much to do in the administration of justice in that rebel state, as well as in the Indian territory which was also within his jurisdiction. In this service he labored diligently two years, and in addition to his official duties gave valuable aid in the organization of a state government under a new constitution for the state of Arkansas.

Broken down in health by his arduous labors, and almost blind, Colonel Joy had little inclination to resume the practice of his profession at Ottumwa, when the war had come to an end. Rest and change of occupation were demands to which he could not turn a deaf ear, and, accordingly, he bent his way to Newark, N. J., the home of his father. That neither the sword nor the forum were essential to his usefulness or prosperity, soon became evident, and the result was the acceptance of an offer of partnership in his father's business. The partnership existed until 1873, when the father died, and thereafter the business was continued by Colonel Joy during the remainder of his life.

It was not surprising that he should, by reason of his intellectual gifts, his superior attainments and varied experience, have attracted the attention and won the confidence of his fellow citizens. While yet but six years a citizen of New Jersey he was in 1871, elected a member of the state Legislature. Re-elected in the following year, he filled the important position of Chairman of the Judiciary Committee, wherein his legal knowledge and effectiveness as a speaker enabled him to render valuable service to the State. In 1877 he was elected a member of the Board of Education of the city of

Newark and held this position until the close of 1888, serving as president of that body during the years 1885, '86 and '87, when he declined a re-election. Of Newark's Board of Trade he was an early and active member, being its presiding officer in 1875 and 1876, and its treasurer from 1879 to the time of his death. In 1880 he was a delegate to the National Republican Convention, which nominated James A. Garfield for the Presidency. In 1884 and 1885, by appointment of President Arthur, he served as a government director of the Union Pacific Railroad Company. His extensive business operations, and his well known abilities as a business man made him prominent in matters affecting the financial interests of the city in which he lived, and often placed him in positions of great responsibility.

Colonel Joy was a man of deep religious conviction. He was of an active and energetic temperament, and endowed with a mind practical and comprehensive in its conceptions, strong and tenacious in its grasp on affairs, excellent in judgment and wonderful in its power of analysis. The ability to express his thoughts in language at once accurate and elegant, was with him a gift rather than an attainment. He was distinguished for the brilliancy and force of his utterances made under the inspiration of the moment, and in the exercise of his powers along these lines, upon the many and various occasions that have arisen in his active life, gained for himself an enviable reputation as a public speaker. He was a racy and genial companion, "a zealous patriot, a gallant soldier, a scholar and a Christian gentleman."

In 1862, he married Theresa R., daughter of the late Homer L. Thrall, M. D., of Columbus, Ohio, an eminent physician and profound scholar, who was for many years a professor in Kenyon College, and subsequently in Starling Medical College.

Colonel Joy died at Newark, February 14, 1892, and besides his widow, left surviving him two sons, Edmund Steele and Homer Thrall, and one daughter, Harriet Shaw, wife of Robert D. Martin, of Chicago.

JAMES M. QUIMBY.

James Moses Quimby was of Colonial descent. His earliest American ancestor was William Quimby, who came to this country from England in the early part of the seventeenth century, and settled in Wethersfield, Conn. From this place he, with the Rev. Adam Brakeman, and others, went forth into the wilderness in search of suitable lands for a new settlement, and, in 1651, laid the foundation of the town of Stratford. John, son of William Quimby, was one of the original patentees of the town of Westchester, N. Y., and was one of the two deputies from that town to the Assembly convened in 1665, at Hempstead, L. I., by Governor Nicolls, to promulgate the "Duke's Laws." The Quimbys of Westchester county were Quakers; but when Moses Quimby, the grandfather of James M. Quimby, removed thence to Orange, N. J., he joined the Presbyterian Church. His son Jotham, father of John M. Quimby, married Lilius Smith, daughter of James Smith, a representative in blood of both Robert Treat and Jasper Crane, thus giving to the subject of this sketch the right to claim descent from two of the most distinguished of Newark's earliest settlers.

James M. Quimby was born October 5, 1804, in the old stone mansion, upon the farm which afterwards came into his possession in Orange, N. J. Upon this farm he passed his boyhood, and would, doubtless, have become a farmer himself, had he possessed less activity of mind and less repugnance to a life of easy obscurity. He was a studious boy, losing no opportunity to acquire learning, though his highest ambition seemed to be the career of a successful business man. After completing the curriculum of the South Orange Columbian School, of which his father was a trustee, he expressed a desire to become a carriage manufacturer, a business which in that day ranked almost as one of the fine arts, and which, indeed, sent forth from Newark several distinguished artists. In accordance with his wishes, he was apprenticed at the age of seventeen to Robert B. Canfield, one of Newark's most prosperous carriage builders, and most estimable citizens. Faithful service and industry as an apprentice brought its reward when he became a journeyman in the establishment of G. & A. K. Carter, into which he entered on the expiration of his term of apprenticeship. Here he soon showed

so much taste and skill in his workmanship, and gained so rapidly the confidence of his employers, that he was placed in charge as foreman of their extensive works.

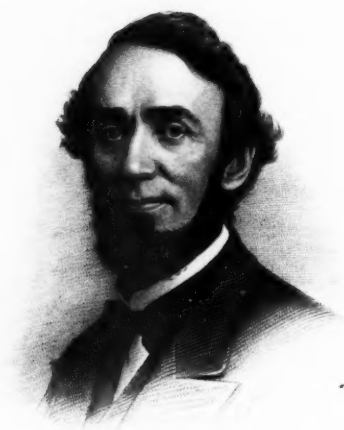
From a mere foremanship in the shops, Mr. Quimby rose eventually to the position of general superintendent and confidential clerk. This we gather from his private journal, which he kept at that time, and continued to keep, with great regularity for many years, and which, while highly interesting, gives us an insight into his character that would have been otherwise difficult to obtain. In this journal we have a glimpse of the panic that prevailed between 1832 and 1834, as a result of the disturbances throughout the country caused by the war upon the United States Bank, and the threats of South Carolina to secede from the Union. In 1833, the failure of numerous mercantile and manufacturing houses took place, chiefly on account of a lack of confidence in the stability of national affairs. Among these failures was that of G. & A. K. Carter, with whom Mr. Quimby had been connected during the last eight or nine years. They effected, however, a compromise with their creditors which enabled them to carry on their business, and finally to make an advantageous disposition of it. Mr. Quimby, though still a young man, with no large amount of capital, purchased in 1834 their stock of goods, and entered upon business in his own name. To the customers of the old firm he was already so well and favorably known that he had no difficulty in retaining their patronage, and therefore, soon found himself engaged in extensive and lucrative operations. In 1848 the business had so largely increased that Mr. Quimby admitted partners, and thereafter it was conducted under the name of J. M. Quimby & Co.

Throughout his long business career of forty years Mr. Quimby's credit remained unimpaired. In seasons of financial depression, while many were failing around him, he was able to maintain his ground, though, at times, a great sufferer through the misfortunes of others, and he finally died possessed of an ample fortune. With a heart overflowing with kindness; with manners the most gentle and unassuming; with a mind well stored with varied knowledge, he was not only attractive as a companion, but desirable and respected as a friend and counselor. It is not surprising that the people of Newark should have seen in him a man worthy to be trusted with their interests, and it was not surprising in 1849, that he should have been easily elected Mayor of the city, although not

then a member of the dominant political party. In this office he served faithfully and effectively during two terms, bringing about many important public improvements, among which were the grading and paving of the principal thoroughfares, lighting the streets with gas, and erecting a commodious public market. In 1860 he was elected a member of the State Senate for Essex county, and for three years in this position served the commonwealth with marked ability, exercising an important influence upon legislation by reason of his excellent judgment and inflexible honesty. It was during this period that Newark manufacturers suffered such losses in the southern states on account of the Rebellion. Of course, Mr. Quimby suffered with others, but his operations were so extended, reaching even into Mexico, South America, the West Indies, England and France, that he was not seriously injured by the loss of his southern patrons, or by their abusive and threatening letters.

Several of the prominent financial institutions of Newark number Mr. Quimby among their founders and once active directors. While in matters of charity, he always extended a helping hand, he seemed to take a special delight in rendering aid to those about to engage in commendable enterprises, or in commencing business, or to those who, through misfortune, had been embarrassed, and were known to him as worthy of assistance. Though he made no parade of religion, his private journal, already spoken of, gives abundant evidence that from early youth he was a sincere and devout Christian. For many years he was a vestryman of Trinity Church, Newark, N. J., and continued in that office until his death, which occurred July 20, 1874. He left behind him one son and four daughters, himself a widower at the time.

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J. C. Buttre

EARLY AMERICAN ENGRAVERS.

JOHN CHESTER BUTTRE.

John Chester Buttre was well known as a publisher and engraver, and especially as a pioneer in the very delicate operations of modern steel-plate work. But it was his personal character which was especially admirable. His life furnished a striking instance where the man was far more than his achievements. Only the mere suggestion of this can be outlined here, but it was the unique charm and real and rare worth of personal character which will always be cherished in the hearts of those who knew him best.

Mr. Buttre was of Scotch descent. His father, William Buttre, was born in Perthshire, Scotland, August 9, 1782, and died in New York city, on the 2d of October, 1864. His mother, Mary Ann Lathrop, was born at Fairfield, Herkimer county, New York, on the 23d day of April, 1800, and died at her son's home, in Ridgewood, New Jersey, May 7, 1882.

John Chester Buttre was born at Auburn, New York, June 10, 1821. His early education was received in the crude district schools of that day, and later at Auburn Academy. Almost at once he developed a talent for drawing. Says Appleton's "Cyclopædia of American Biography": "The first drawing lessons he received were from one Hulanski, a Polish exile residing in Auburn; and afterward, while assisting his father, he devoted his leisure to the study of portrait painting. In the practice of this art he was assisted by friends; but he did not succeed as well with colors as in drawing. His first attempt in this line was a series of small penny toy-primers. By degrees the work progressed and in time he did the business of a general engraver, including card-plates, wood-cuts, and various kinds of simple work. In 1841, he removed to New York, and thereafter gave his attention to steel-plate engraving. His productions were soon in demand, and appeared in many of the magazines."

It is not exaggeration to say that Mr. Buttre was at the very head of his profession, and was the most widely known of the publishing engravers and plate-printers of America. He executed a number of individual engravings which had an almost unprecedented sale and brought him great reputation. Among these, mentioned in Apple-

ton's Cyclopædia, was a full-length portrait of President Buchanan, issued in 1858, and which was then regarded as one of the best specimens of that kind of work ; a similar full-length portrait of Martha Washington, which also had a large sale ; and such war scenes (issued while the Rebellion was in progress) as "The Empty Sleeve," "Only a little Brook," and the "Good Morning Prayer in Camp." He also, says the "New York Sun," during the Civil War, "brought out engravings of Lincoln, Grant, Lee, Jackson, McClellan, Burnside, and other celebrities," of which "the aggregate sale amounted to several million copies." After the news of Lincoln's assassination, his office was besieged by hundreds desirous to secure the martyred President's portrait.

Mr. Buttre contributed some original ideas to the development of his art, among which was a special process known only to himself, whereby he was enabled to impart to his pictures what has been well described as a "special life-like tint, which has, perhaps, never been excelled in the history of steel engraving." He also made a specialty, later in life, of mezzo-tints, and won considerable reputation through this style of work. An especially noteworthy service was his restoration, in May, 1885, of the original diploma plate of the Society of the Cincinnati. Mr. Buttre's father had been an officer in the war of 1812, and he was naturally, therefore, interested in this memorial society of the older Revolution.

The diploma plate in question was of copper, and had been made in 1783-4, by J. J. Lebeau, of Paris, France. The minutes of the Secretary-General, Asa Bird Gardiner, of the Society of the Cincinnati, gave the story of this restoration, as follows : "The plate was found to be very badly corroded—so much so that several first-class engravers refused to undertake its restoration, and declared that it was totally ruined. . . . Through Mr. Drowne,* the services of his friend, Mr. John Chester Buttre, the eminent bank-note and portrait engraver were enlisted. This gentleman, from motives of patriotism and personal friendship, devoted many days to the restoration of this plate, and to the surprise of those cognizant of the difficulties of such an undertaking, has succeeded perfectly and by an exhibition of very great mechanical skill and talent has restored the plate so that it can again be used. His charges for this labor are merely nominal, for necessary disbursements, and it is suggested

* Assistant Treasurer-General of the Society of the Cincinnati, and also President of the National Fire Insurance Company in the City of New York.

that he is entitled to the thanks of the General Society of the Cincinnati."

But perhaps the best known work of Mr. Buttre, and certainly that which will prove of most enduring value, is "The American Portrait Gallery." Of this work he was the publisher, as well as the maker of the portraits, while his daughter, Lillian C. Buttre, prepared the letter-press accompanying the engravings. The work has been issued in thirty parts, each of which contains six fine portraits on steel and twelve pages of letter-press, and has been sold at the popular price of fifty cents per part. The design was to include only those "who stand forth to the world as emphatically the representatives of our country."

Mr. Buttre died at his home in Ridgewood, New Jersey, on the 2nd of December, 1893. It has already been hinted that the rare charms of his personal character were more remarkable than even the unique pre-eminence which he enjoyed in his profession. His kindness of heart was simply boundless; and his unswerving faith in human nature to the day of his death, notwithstanding that his benevolent spirit had made him again and again the victim of imposition and ingratitude, was a never-ceasing marvel, to his friends and business associates. Uprightness and benevolence were so entirely the warp and the woof of his own character, that he really could not conceive of such a thing as calculating dishonesty and knavery.

Even though one had wronged him again and again, or drawn upon his bounty repeatedly, in the most heartless and calculating manner, it made no difference to him. The first signs of distress, real or feigned, led him to repeat his former kindness, even if he practiced the most rigid self-denial in order to thus minister to others, or even borrowed from some friend for the purpose. The beauty of character he displayed was as rare as the most precious gems of the earth, and the friends who knew him and loved him will look in vain, we fear, for such another.

It will be pleasing to many to learn that the business, conducted for fifty-five years by Mr. Buttre, will be continued by his daughter, Mary F. Buttre, under incorporation as the "J. C. Buttre Company," assisted by Mr. George Probst as Superintendent, who has been connected with the business for thirty years, and whose relations with Mr. Buttre, beyond their business association, took on the warmth of intimate personal friendship.

A YOUNG SOLDIER OF 1861.

We publish as a frontispiece in this issue an engraving of a young soldier equipped in response to his country's call to arms. It is an ideal embodiment of youthful heroism and patriotism which, although more than thirty years have passed since it was to many of us a familiar and pathetic figure, has still lost little of its inspiring potency. It would be difficult to find a better illustration of this theme than in the youthful grace and manliness, the courage and enthusiasm, depicted in the figure and face of this young soldier; and yet the engraving which we present is no mere ideal, but an exact reproduction from a portrait of General Wm. E. Strong, taken soon after his enlistment in the service in the late war. He was not yet twenty-one years of age at the time the photograph was taken. It is difficult to remember that those heroes of a generation ago were such boys in years.

But beyond the striking and inspiring personality shown in the engraving, General Strong may well be considered as fittingly representing the ideal type of the young soldier—who heard the first bugle note of the call to arms only to answer it, equipped for the conflict and ready for whatever might be the issue. He was the Western brother of those boys of the 7th Regiment, who marched down Broadway that memorable day in April, 1861, the very spirit of which incident Curtis reproduces so graphically in the Introduction to "Cecil Dreeme:"

On Friday afternoon the 19th of April, 1861, I stood on the corner of Cortlandt Street and saw the regiment march away blessed and wept over by a great city. Mothers' eyes glistened at the windows upon the glistening bayonets of their boys below. The music beat and rang and clashed in the air, Marching to death or victory or defeat, it mattered not. They marched for Justice, and God was their captain.

It was of such young men as these that Lowell wrote those never-to-be-forgotten lines in the "Commemoration Ode."

Many loved Truth, and lavished life's best oil
Amid the dust of books to find her,
Content at last for guerdon of their toil,
With the cast mantle she hath left behind her.
Many in sad faith sought for her,
Many with crossed hand sighed for her ;
But these our brothers fought for her,
At life's dear peril wrought for her ;

Their higher instincts knew
Those love her best who to themselves are true,
And what they dare to dream of, dare to do ;
They followed her and found her
Where all may hope to find,
Not in the ashes of the burnt-out mind,
But beautiful with danger's sweetness round her.

Our intention began and ended with giving to our readers the "counterfeit presentment" of this ideal young soldier. Elsewhere in the pages of this magazine,* Mr. Conard has given an interesting account of General Strong's early life, his war record and his civil services and distinction. It seems suitable here to say briefly that he was born at Granville, New York, in August, 1840, and in his veins flowed the blood of ancient English stock which flourished at Taunton, England. His immediate ancestor in this country was the staunch Puritan, "Elder" John Strong, who came over among the earliest settlers in 1630. Elder Strong settled at Northampton, Massachusetts, which remained the family seat for several generations. Among the various branches which have spread out from this point into nearly every State of the Union, have been many notable names which have dignified and enriched the history of our country. In later life, General Strong made his home in Chicago, where in 1867 he married Mary Bostwick Ogden, daughter of Mahlon D. Ogden, one of the pioneer settlers of that now world-famed city.

General Strong was a conspicuous citizen of Chicago, figuring in the direction of great financial enterprises, and concerned in all its public interests. Few men in that city have been esteemed as he has been for the lovable qualities that attracted and held securely the warmest personal friendships, as well as for those which go to make up the high-minded and public-spirited citizen whom all delight to honor.

* The National Magazine, November, 1891.

AN OLD HOLLAND FAMILY.

CHAUNCEY S. TRAUx.

The Pilgrims, as is well known, were separatists from the English Church, who for conscience sake and the enjoyment of religious liberty had settled in Holland. By accident they came to New England, having set forth from Leyden to colonize Virginia. It is not so well known that refugees of the reformed faith from other countries had resorted to the same place, and that a Protestant Walloon and French church flourished in Leyden at the same time with John Robinson's congregation. Still less is it understood that they also desired to emigrate to America and form a colony in Virginia; nor that, frustrated in this design, many of them also touched the new continent further north and settled in New Netherland, afterward New York.

Such was the case, and among these Walloon and French pilgrims were Philippe Du Trieux and Susanna De Chiney, his wife. The names would indicate a French origin since the two are found as names of adjacent hamlets in France. Yet there is also a *faubourg* Du Trieux in Namur, in the Walloon country of Belgium.

A leading man among these Walloon and French Protestants was Jesse de Forest, who with his three brothers and other refugees, appears to have come to Leyden from La Câteau of Avesnes, province of Hainault, in the Walloon country, about the year 1600. He had a special license "to dye serges and camlets in colors." His wife was Marie du Cloux. They had five children, three of whom, Hendrik, Rachel and Isaac found their way to New Amsterdam.

The Pilgrims sailed in 1620. In the following year the Walloon petition, signed by Jesse de Forest and others, was forwarded to the British sovereign through Sir Dudley Carleton, ambassador to the Hague, praying for permission to settle in Virginia. This document recites as follows:

"My Lord, the Ambassador of the Most Serene King of Great Britain, is most humbly supplicated to advise and reply to us on the following articles:

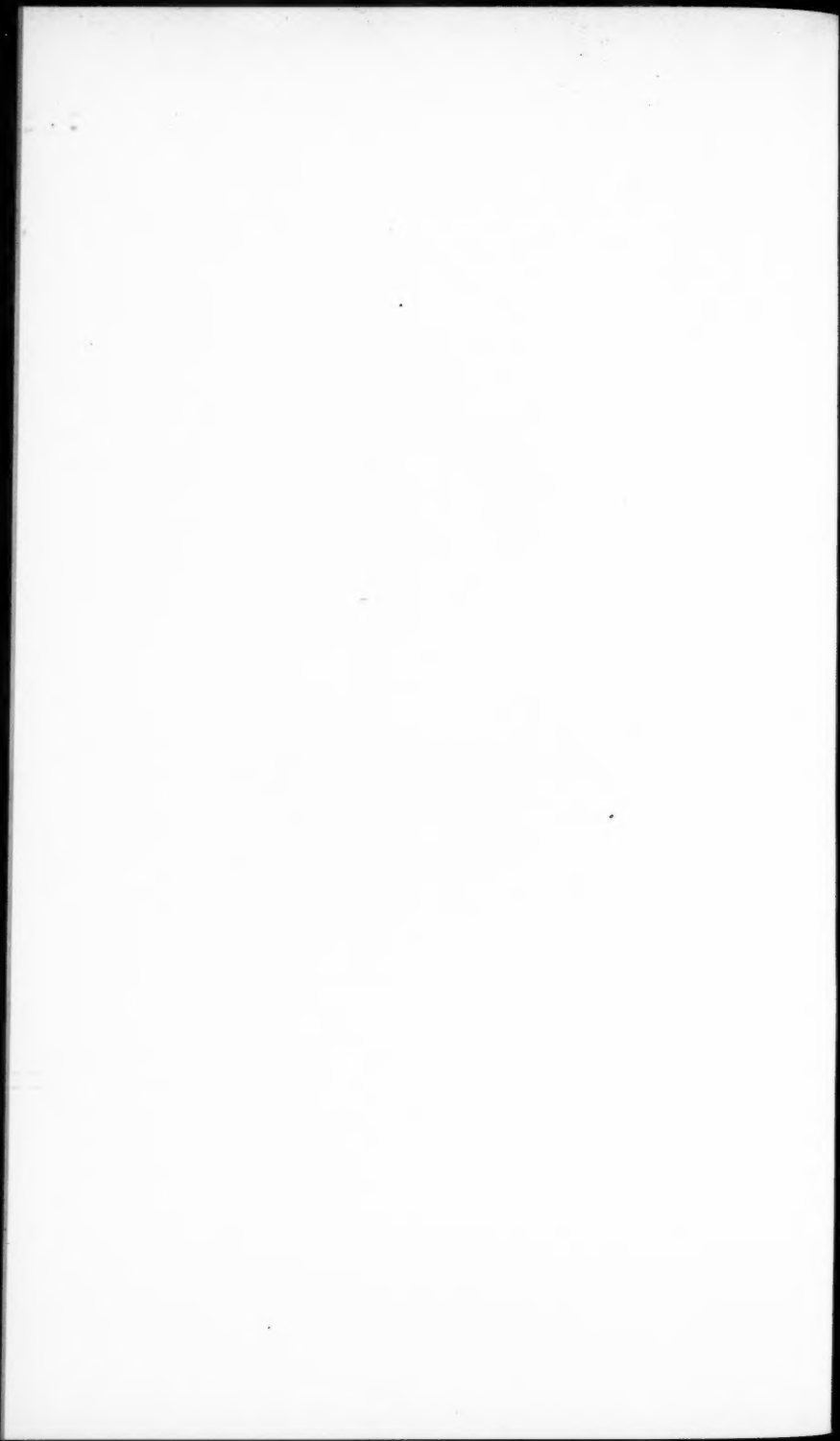
"1. Firstly, will his Majesty be pleased to permit fifty or sixty families, Walloons as well as French, all of the reformed religion,



George H. Smith & Co.

Chauncey J. Truax

The New York History Co.



to settle in Virginia, a country under his obedience, and will he be pleased to protect and defend them from and against all and maintain them in their religion."

The six articles following ask for an armed vessel to assist in transporting nearly three hundred persons, with cattle and means of husbandry, and afterwards to ply between the settlement and the old country. They desire permission to build a town with defenses upon any unoccupied ground, with grant of "bauliess" or territory for eight miles on every side; also with right to elect their governor and magistrates, and right to fish, hunt and cut timber. In turn they promise to trade exclusively with the London Ware-house, and "render all fealty."

Sir Dudley Carleton endorsed the paper as follows :

"Supplicâon of certaine
Walloons and French
who are desirous to
goe into Virginia."

George Calvert referred the matter to the King, who referred it to the "Company of Virginea," whose directors report themselves as having given "so fine an answer as we consider they will resolve to go." However, as certain unwelcome conditions were imposed, and no ship furnished, the Walloons thought differently. Still some of these people adhered to their purpose of coming to America; but the emigration, now by families instead of a compact colony, was diverted from Virginia to New York. Among the first it would appear, who sailed from Leyden in March, 1623, was Philippe Du Trieux, whose name is modified in the Dutch records to Philip de Truy. Certain it is that he was in New Amsterdam in 1624 to 1629. Under the administration of Peter Minuet, he became Court Messenger or Marshal. Three years after his arrival came the sons of Jesse de Forest, Hendrik with his bride, and Isaac, a young man only twenty years of age. Dr. Jean De La Montagne with Rachel de Forest his wife, arrived the following year, the spring of 1627.

Philippe Du Trieux received a patent for lands and resided in "Smit's valley," north side of the present Pearl street, between Maiden Lane and the old ferry. Among the first children, if not indeed the very first white child born on Manhattan Island, was his daughter Sara, married June 9, 1641, according to the Dutch Church records, to Isaac de Forest. From this pair have descended numerous families of the name in New York, Connecticut and

elsewhere. Philippe Du Trieux had also a son Isaac born in New Amsterdam, April 21, 1642. He married Maria, daughter of William Brouwer, of Albany, and settled on the "second flat," south side of the Mohawk, in the present town of Rotterdam, as early as 1670. This appears from his petition, in which he is joined by one Jacobus Peek, to Governor Andros concerning this grant of land, which was confirmed to him. This Isaac Trieux, or Truy, or Truax, had three sons who became heads of large families, namely Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. At some early date the patronymic was changed to Truax, but the Christian names were retained, continued, repeated and reduplicated in the various lines of the Truax family in and about Schenectady, till the Abrahams, Isaacs and Jacobs of their genealogical tree make one's head swim. (See Pearson's History of Schenectady.)

However, there was a break in the patriarchal rotation at last, so that the grandfather of the subject of this sketch was Henry D. and his father, Henry Phillip Truax, both born in Oneida county.

Mr. Chauncey S. Truax, one of the most successful lawyers of New York City, and recently elected (November 7, 1893) a member of the Constitutional Convention of the state of New York, was born at Durhamville, Oneida County, New York, on the 11th day of March, 1854. His illustrious ancestry, with the origin of the family name, has been already outlined. He is the youngest of three brothers, all of whom have attained distinction in their respective professions in this city.

Mr. Truax received his early education in the public schools and at Oneida Seminary. He then entered the classical course at Hamilton College and was graduated in the class of 1875. He won distinction throughout his studies, securing high honors, and being awarded the prize for oratory on Commencement Day. Moreover, during his entire course he displayed such all-round scholarship and literary brilliancy as attracted the special attention of the faculty of the College. This was soon demonstrated.

In July, 1877, the Rev. Dr. Washburne, president of the famous Robert College of Constantinople, came to America, desirous among other things, to fill the vacant chair of Commercial and International Law in his institution. He appointed a conference with one professor each from the chief colleges of the country, who were to propose one man each from their respective institutions. Mr. Truax was nominated from Hamilton College, and elected by Dr. Washburne.

It should be said that the two years since he finished his course at Hamilton had been spent by Mr. Truax in study in the Law School of Columbia College, and that he had just graduated from the latter institution with the degree of LL. B., in June, 1877, when he received the appointment to the professorship at Robert College.

Robert College, which has been styled the Oxford of the Orient, was founded during the Crimean War by the well known New York merchant and philanthropist, Christopher R. Robert, and was designed to provide for oriental students the same educational advantages which are afforded by the great colleges of America and Western Europe. At the time of Professor Truax's incumbency there were some three hundred students, mostly Orientals, in attendance at this unique university.

Mr. Truax retained the professorship at Constantinople for a year and a half. The opportunity was of course a magnificent one for the prosecution of his own studies and research in history and ancient law. Here was the central scene of two-thirds of the action of that great drama in history, described in Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*.

Nor was Professor Truax's study of the Roman wars wanting in a rather suggestive flavor of reality, since the Turko-Russian war was actually in progress about the city at this time. When the Russians marched against Constantinople, and bombarded the ancient capital, the roar of the artillery was heard daily at the College.

The College itself was romantically situated. Mahomet II., who had captured Constantinople in 1453, built two great fortresses, one called Anatoli Hissar ("Eastern Castle") on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, and the other, called Roumeli Hissar ("Castle of the Romans"), directly opposite on the European side. Upon a promontory immediately adjacent to the last named fortress, Robert College was situated.

In prosecuting his studies Professor Truax explored much classic ground for himself. He visited the ruins of Nicæa where the famous church council was held, went over the ground at Broussa, the first capital of the Turkish Empire, which lies at the foot of Bithynian Olympus, and ascended that magnificent mountain. He also visited the famous points in Greece, Marathon, Plataea, etc., and of course Athens and the Bay of Salamis. Dr. Schliemann was then making his famous excavations on the site of ancient Troy, and Professor Truax went over this ground, Homer in

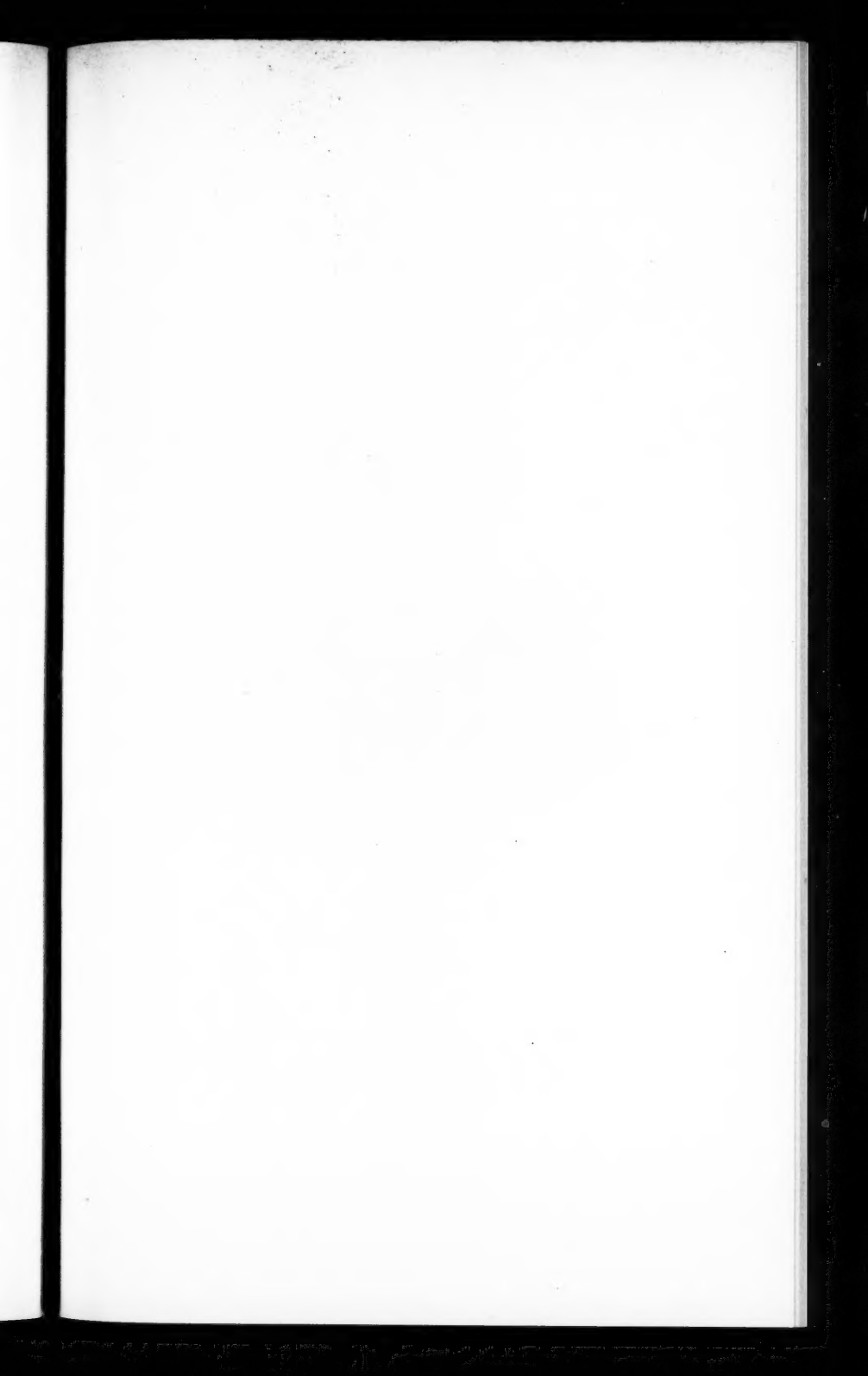
hand, besides seeing much of the great Schliemann himself in Athens.

Returning to New York city in October, 1878, broadened in mind by his experiences in the East, Mr. Truax entered at once upon the practice of his profession. In 1890, the firm of Truax & Crandall was formed, the latter being his faithful assistant of previous years. The professional success of Mr. Truax has been little short of remarkable. He is the attorney for a half-dozen large corporations and a number of banking institutions. He was one of the counsel in 1888, in the litigation connected with the construction of the new aqueduct, while in 1884, he had been counsel in the litigation growing out of the Williams Bridge Reservoir. He also won deserved distinction in the famous Jacobs-Sire suit and the Langley divorce case, and as counsel for defendants in the Adirondack Rail Road litigation. His more important practice, however, comes from great business and corporation interests, whose entanglements are disposed of in the quiet of his office.

It may be fairly said that few, if any, lawyers of his years have won greater financial reward than Mr. Truax. This success is attributable no doubt to a close adherence to his professional duties. Only on few occasions has he been drawn into politics. In 1876, he stumped the states of New York and New Jersey in the interest of Samuel J. Tilden's candidacy for the presidency. In 1881, he was a delegate to the New York State Convention and again in 1888, he was a member of the committee on platforms in the convention which nominated David B. Hill for governor. As has been stated, he was recently elected a member of the Constitutional Convention of the state.

Mr. Truax is a member of the New York Bar Association, and served many years on its Committee on Amendment of Laws. He is also a member of the Manhattan Club, of the Holland Society, and was one of the founders of the Harlem Club.

In his home life Mr. Truax is especially fortunate. On the 30th of September, 1886, he was married to Alice M. Hawley, daughter of R. K. Hawley, of Cleveland, Ohio, a cousin of Senator Joseph R. Hawley, of Connecticut. It is a curious coincidence that the great granddaughter of Philip and Sara du Trieux was married July 21, 1720, to Stephen Hawley, an ancestor of Mrs. Truax. Two children have been born to them, Katharine Hawley (1887) and Ravaud Hawley Truax (1889). Such success as Mr. Truax has achieved so early in life affords the most sanguine prospects for his future years.





Engr. by W. H. Smith & Co. New York

Ashbel P. Fitch

Printed by H. V. Deane & Co. New York

RECORD OF A PURITAN FAMILY.

ASHBEL PARMELEE FITCH.

Hon. Ashbel Parmelee Fitch, lawyer and Member of Congress from New York City, comes in the seventh generation of the line of descent from the Rev. James Fitch, one of the most noted of those early Puritan ministers who held predominant influence in secular as well as religious affairs in New England, and in the eighth generation from Major John Mason, of Connecticut, one of the leading men in the colonies in the middle of the seventeenth century.

The Rev. James Fitch was the son of Thomas Fitch, of Braintree, in the county of Essex, England, where the family has been long established. On his father's death he and his mother and brothers came to America in 1638. James was a young student in his sixteenth year. He prepared himself for the ministry and was ordained in 1646, as pastor of the church at Saybrook, Connecticut. In 1660, he became the first pastor of the new church at Norwich, Conn., where a settlement had been made in the wilderness. He held this pastorate for thirty-six years, till 1696, after which he lived, active even in retirement, until 1702. His pastoral duties were, however, but a part of his life. After serving as a chaplain in the little army of the Colony under the command of his future father-in-law, Captain John Mason against the Indians, he became deeply interested in them. Learning their language he sought not only by sermons, but by constant intercourse with them, gifts to them and other help to gain their confidence, with such success that the friendship of Uncas Owaneco and other chiefs, were obtained for the colonists. His literary labors were for the time and circumstances remarkable. An election sermon which he preached by invitation before the General Assembly of Connecticut, in 1674, was the first election sermon printed, and may be found in the library of Yale College. His "Explanation of the Solemn Advice recommended by the Council in Connecticut," a volume of 133 pages, was published in Boston, 1683, and his volume entitled "The First Principles of the Doctrine of Christ," Boston, 1679, was introduced "To the Reader," by the celebrated Dr. Increase Mather. Numerous other printed works of his are extant and to be found in the collection of the

Massachusetts Historical Society and in Trumbull's Colonial Records of Connecticut. His grave in the old burying ground at Lebanon, Connecticut, bears the following inscription :

REMEMBER ETERNITY.

In hoc sepulchro depositae sunt reliquiae viri vere reverendi D : Iacobi Fitch: natus fuit apud Bocking in comitatu Essexiae in Anglia, anno domini 1622, Decembr 24—qui postquam linguis literatis optime instructus fuisset in Novangliam venit aetat. 16, et deinde vitam degit Hartfordiae per septennium sub institutione virorum celeberrimorum D : Hooker et D : Stone postea munere pastoralis functus est apud Saybrook per annos 14 illinc cum ecclesiae maiori parte Norvicum migravit et ibi ceteros vitae annos transegit in opere evangelico in senectute vero prae corporis infirmitate necessario cessabat ab opere publico : tandemque recessit liberis apud Lebanon ubi semi-anno fere exacto obdormivit in Iesu anno 1702 Novebr 18 etat 80 vir, ingenii acumine, pondere iudicii, prudentia, charitate, sanctis laboribus, et omnimoda vitae sanctitate peritiaquoque et vi concionandi nulli secundus.

(Translation.)

"In this grave are deposited the remains of that truly reverend man, Mr. James Fitch. He was born at Bocking, in the county of Essex, in England, the 24th day of December, in the year of our Lord 1622 ; who, after he had been most excellently taught the learned languages, came into New England at the age of sixteen ; and then spent seven years under the instructions of those very famous men, Mr. Hooker and Mr. Stone. Afterwards he discharged the pastoral office fourteen years at Saybrook. Thence he removed with the major part of his church to Norwich, where he spent the other years of his life in the work of the gospel. In his old age, indeed, he was obliged to cease from his public labors, by reason of bodily indisposition ; and at length retired to his children at Lebanon ; where after spending nearly half a year, he slept in Jesus, in the year 1702, on the 18th day of November, in the 80th year of his age. He was a man as to the smartness of his genius, the solidity of his judgment, his charity, holy labors, and every kind of purity of life, and also as to his skill and energy of preaching, inferior to none."

The Rev. James Fitch married Priscilla, daughter of Major John Mason. The latter was born in England, in 1600, had a military

education and served as a lieutenant under Sir Thomas Fairfax. He came to New England in 1630. He was in the service of the General of Massachusetts, as a chaplain in November, 1630, and in September, 1634, was one of the commissioners appointed to arrange the fortifications in Boston Harbor and personally superintended the erection of the works on Castle Island. In 1635, he represented Dorchester in the General Court, and in 1636, was one of the founders of Windsor Conn. He commanded the Colonists in the Pequod War, for which service he was appointed the commander of the military forces of the Plantation of Connecticut, with a salary of forty pounds per annum, a post which he held thirty-five years. He was a magistrate, a member of the General Court of Connecticut, Lieutenant Governor of the Colony for ten years, and for two years acting Governor. The close relations between him and the Rev. James Fitch, are shown by the fact that while the latter married one of his daughters, Priscilla, another daughter, Elizabeth, married Major James Fitch, a son of the Rev. James Fitch, and his son John Mason married Abigail, a daughter of Rev. James Fitch.

From the marriage of James Fitch and Priscilla Mason there were fourteen children, of whom the thirteenth was Captain Nathaniel Fitch, of Lebanon, Conn., born October 10th, 1679, who was the father of Isaac Fitch, of Lebanon, born May 10th, 1724, who was the father of Jabez Fitch, born at Lebanon, November 18th, 1752.

The latter after serving with distinction in the Revolutionary War, married Molly Bosworth, at Lebanon, Conn., and after the close of the war, with a number of other young people from his town, came in 1793, to Columbia county, New York, where his son, Dr. Jabez Fitch, Junior, was born, November 16th, 1794. Subsequently in 1810, he removed to the town of Mooers, in Clinton county, New York. He was an architect and builder, whose skill is shown by different churches and public buildings still standing in Columbia and Clinton counties. His son, Dr. Jabez Fitch, was a physician in large practice at Mooers and Plattsburg, New York, served in the war of 1812 on the medical staff, and held, besides his position as surgeon to which he was appointed by DeWitt Clinton, many public offices.

Edward Fitch, the son of Dr. Jabez Fitch, Jr., was born January 12th, 1823, at Mooers, New York. He was educated for the law, admitted at Albany, New York, and after practising his profession successfully at Mooers and at Malone, New York, and serving with

credit in the Legislature of the State of New York, he removed in 1857 to New York city, where he was associated first with ex-Governor Myron H. Clark and then with Judge Claudius L. Monell. His success at the bar in the city was immediate and continued until his sudden death on February 7th, 1887. His high rank in his profession and his standing in the social and business life of the city were unquestioned. His powers of oratory were remarkable. He was a man of study and culture beyond the lines of his profession. His varied and extensive reading, his love of books, and his eager interest in all the arts continued all his life. With an imposing presence and a high sense of personal dignity and honor, he combined the kindest and most courteous manners and the warmest attachment to his friends.

He married at Malone, New York, April 22d, 1846, Fanny Parmelee, the daughter of the Rev. Dr. Ashbel Parmelee, whose name is borne by Congressman Fitch. Miss Parmelee was also of Revolutionary parentage. Her grandfather, Simeon Parmelee, was born in Durham, in Connecticut, in 1740, enlisted in 1757, at seventeen years of age, in the Colonial army in the French and Indian war. He was in the engagements at Fort Stanwix, at Oswego, and at the capture of Fort Niagara, July 24th, 1759, by Sir William Johnson. In 1775, he enlisted in Captain Noah Fowler's company, one of the companies organized for the relief of Boston, in the Lexington Alarm, in April, 1775, being the troops that were raised after the skirmishes of Lexington and Concord and the first troops enlisted in the struggle of the colonies. He then became an orderly sergeant in the regular Continental army, and subsequently a commissioned officer, serving in the invasion of Canada, at the capture of St. Johns, in September, 1775, and at Montreal, November 13th, 1775. He died at Westford, Vermont, in November, 1820.

The Rev. Ashbel Parmelee, D. D., a son of Simeon Parmelee, was born October 13, 1784, at Stockbridge, Mass., and was educated at Westford and Benson, Connecticut, and was ordained as a minister September 29, 1808. He was first pastor of the church at Cambridge, Vermont, and then in October, 1809, took the pastoral charge of the Congregational church at Malone, New York, where he remained for the rest of his life. During the war of 1812, he acted as a chaplain in the American service, and when Malone was captured by the British forces after General Wilkenon's retreat to Burlington, he protected the unfortunate inhabitants and endeared himself greatly

by his courage and unselfish service. His sermons were published in 1815, in 1825 and 1839, and in 1853 the degree D. D. was conferred upon him. On May 24, 1862, he died at Malone after a continual pastoral service of fifty-four years, the earlier part of which was during the time when northern New York was a wilderness, in which he was the earliest pioneer clergyman. His biography, published by J. W. Lewis & Co., of Philadelphia, in 1880, contains many anecdotes showing his courage, his hospitality, his attachment for out-door sports and his faithfulness and success as a clergyman.

Ashbel Parmelee Fitch, the son of Edward Fitch and of his wife Fannie Parmelee, was born at Mooers, Clinton county, New York, October 8, 1848. As mentioned above, in 1855, his father, the Hon. Edward Fitch, removed to New York. Mr. Fitch was educated in the public schools of New York city, and was then prepared for college at Williston Seminary at East Hampton, Massachusetts. He then went to Europe, where he completed his studies at the Universities of Jena and Berlin, gaining, besides a thorough classical education, an accurate knowledge of the German language, which has been of great use to him in his career, both in business and political life. He then returned to this country and was prepared for his profession at Columbia Law School, in New York City, where he was admitted to the bar in 1869, within a few days after his twenty-first birthday.

From 1869 until 1884, being a period of about fifteen years, Mr. Fitch was actively engaged in the practise of his profession to the exclusion of all other pursuits except his literary studies. His knowledge of the German language and the reputation of his father were of great use to him, and, early in his career, he was appointed counsel for many corporations, such as the Germania Bank, the Brewers' Board of Trade, the Indemnity Fund, and acted as legal adviser for some of the leading business firms in the city.

In 1884, Mr. Fitch's direct connection with political matters began by his nomination for Congress by the Republicans in the Thirteenth Congressional District which included most of the district in which Roswell P. Flower and Mr. Astor had had two years before their memorable contest. Mr. Fitch, however, declined this nomination, mainly on the ground that he was not fully in sympathy with the doctrines of high protection which were held by many Republicans. When, however, in 1886, the Democratic member from the district, General Egbert L. Viele, was renominated, the question of Mr. Fitch's can-

didacy was presented in a new form. General Viele, although a Democrat, was a firm believer in protection. Against a candidate pledged to high protection, Mr. Fitch was willing to make a campaign, and accordingly he was nominated in spite of his well known views in regard to the tariff by the Republicans in October 1886.

At the November election, in 1884, General Viele had a majority in the district over Mr. Smith, the Republican candidate, of 6,595, but in 1886, after a spirited campaign, in which Mr. Fitch made a complete speaking canvass, the latter was elected over General Viele by a majority of 2,672, and took his seat in December, 1887, as a member of the Fiftieth Congress.

On the organization of the House Mr. Fitch was assigned to the Committee on Military Affairs and the Committee on the Reform of the Civil Service, two exceptional appointments for a new member. In connection with his membership on the military Committee, Mr. Fitch served as one of the sub-committee in making up the Army Appropriation Bill, and was active in the establishment of the new Government Gun Foundry at Watervliet, New York, and in particular in connection with the management and development of the West Point Military Academy. Mr. Fitch also served as one of the Board of Visitors to the United States Military Academy, in 1888, and joined in the preparation of the interesting report of the Board of Visitors of that year.

During his first Congressional term Mr. Fitch was also active in New York City in the agitation for Home Rule by the city, and was emphatic in his opposition to the position taken by the managers of the Republican party in that respect. In an open letter addressed to the Republicans in the State Legislature at the beginning of the session in 1888, among other things, Mr. Fitch said: "If the Republican party in the coming session shall choose to legislate for New York City, much as if it were a foreign colony, or a conquered province, if the wishes of the people here are overruled to satisfy the fancied sentiment or the interest of the country districts, then it will be necessary for the party to arrange to get such votes as it may need to elect its candidates in those portions of the State which its legislation favors. If, on the other hand, the members of the Legislature belonging to the Republican party will lay aside all questions of so-called party advantage and party patronage and in their legislation for this city will aim to give the people who live in it and have built it up the control of their own affairs, and if they will take

steps to give the city its rightful representation in the Legislature, they will, as I believe, take the natural and proper course to strengthen their party among the voters of the city."

In the meantime Mr. Cleveland had sent to Congress his celebrated message urging a reform of the tariff in the direction of the reduction of the duties then in force, and the Mills Bill which was designed to carry out the views in the President's message had been introduced in the House. Mr. Fitch had long been in sympathy with the doctrines laid down by President Cleveland in his message and embodied in the Mills Bill, and owed his election largely to his advocacy of these views in his canvass. He was therefore one of the three Republicans who refused to attend or be bound by the party caucus on this subject, and he voted for the Mills Bill, just as on the Democratic side Mr. Randall and several other gentlemen refused to be bound by their party caucus and voted against the bill.

On May 16th, 1888, Mr. Fitch spoke in the House on the Mills Bill and was heard with great attention. He spoke particularly for the working people of the city of New York, advocating a reduction of the tariff in their interest.

This speech was immediately circulated to the extent of hundreds of thousands of copies by the Reform Club of New York, and other similar organizations, and in the two Presidential campaigns which followed, was reprinted by the Democratic National Committee and circulated in German and English, as largely perhaps as any other single campaign document, and to the extent of over a million copies.

Mr. Fitch's determined attitude in regard to Tariff Reform and his unwillingness to be governed by the party action in regard to matters in the city of New York, took him out of line with the leaders of the Republican party, and accordingly in a letter dated August 13, 1888, Mr. Fitch resigned his position in the Republican District and County Committees and determined to go before the voters of his district as a candidate for re-election on the platform of his speech in Congress. His position was sustained by a letter signed by over three thousand of his constituents approving of his course, and in October, 1888, he was renominated for Congress by both of the Democratic organizations in the district.

His opponent was James Otis Hoyt, a well known lawyer of high social standing, who was nominated by the Republicans. Mr. Fitch's majority over Mr. Hoyt was over 9,000, being more than twice his majority at his previous election.

In the Fifty-first Congress Mr. Fitch was assigned to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, for which service he was particularly qualified by his personal knowledge of affairs in Europe and his acquaintance with the modern languages. He has remained on this committee in addition to service as the chairman on the Committee on Private Land Claims and as chairman of the Committee on the National Election Laws, to the present time (1893), and has been active in connection with all the workings of the diplomatic and consulate systems of the United States. As the Committee on Foreign Affairs deals entirely with matters outside of American politics, the relations of the committee with the State Department are very close, whichever party may be in power; and under the administrations of both President Cleveland and President Harrison, Mr. Fitch has been active in promoting in the House the legislation necessary to carry out the foreign policy of the country.

He has taken a position in favor of a generous treatment of the American representatives abroad, and his speech in the Fifty-second Congress against any reduction in the appropriations for foreign service of the United States attracted considerable attention in this country and abroad.

Mr. Fitch was also active in advocacy of the Harlem River Improvement. Until his election to Congress there had been no appropriation by the government for nine years. During his first term in Congress he secured an appropriation of \$75,000, and in his second term one of \$350,000, and a further appropriation in his third term which made the completion of the work certain.

In the Fifty-first Congress Mr. Fitch took an active part in the fight for international copyright, in which he made a speech which was largely quoted, and in the struggle against the enactment of the Force Bill, and the Ship Subsidy Bill, in both of which he was prominent. He was conspicuous in the contest against the enactment of the McKinley Bill. Mr. Fitch's principal activity in the House, however, has been in connection with the silver question. As early as June 21st, 1890, when Mr. Bland appealed from the decision of the Speaker sending the Silver Bill to the Coinage Committee, Mr. Fitch was one of the eleven Democrats who voted to table the appeal, and he has been constantly heard in all the debates since then on the side of sound currency and the gold standard.

In October, 1890, Mr. Fitch was again unanimously nominated by both of the Democratic organizations and was opposed by Mr.

Percy D. Adams, a lawyer of Harlem, whom Mr. Fitch defeated by a majority of over 16,000, being over four times his first majority in the District, and being the largest majority received by any candidate for Congress at that election in the United States. This event was commemorated by the presentation in the district to Mr. Fitch of the specimen of American silver work made by Tiffany & Company, which received the first prize at the Paris Exposition.

Mr. Fitch's more important work in the Fifty-second Congress was in connection with the opposition to free coinage. In the debates of March, 1892, which resulted in the defeat of the agitation for free silver coinage, he was especially active, and his speech of March 24, 1892, was largely quoted.

In July, 1892, Mr. Fitch introduced a resolution for the investigation of the operation of the Federal Election Laws, and on the passage of the Resolution was appointed Chairman of the Committee which conducted a long and very thorough investigation in New York City and reported a bill for the repeal of the laws on this subject, which is now pending in Congress.

In October, 1892, Mr. Fitch was for the fourth time nominated for Congress by the united Democracy, this time in the Fifteenth district of New York, a reapportionment having made substantially two districts out of the old Thirteenth district, which Mr. Fitch had represented for three terms. At this election Mr. Fitch was opposed by Henry C. Robinson, whom he defeated by the very large majority of eleven thousand.

In the Fifty-third Congress Mr. Fitch again was assigned to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and was made chairman of several of the sub-committees of that Committee. He also was appointed chairman of the Committee on the Election of President and Vice-President and Representatives in Congress. This Committee has charge of some of the most important work before Congress. In the struggle in the House over the repeal of the Sherman Purchase Act, Mr. Fitch took a prominent part. He was one of the Committee of seven chosen by the friends of repeal in the House to manage the canvass, and his speech in favor of repeal was widely quoted.

At the municipal election on the 7th of November last, Mr. Fitch was elected Comptroller of the City of New York, to succeed Theodore Myers. The confidence of the people in Mr. Fitch's well known business integrity was gratifyingly shown in his election by a conspicuously large majority over the balance of the ticket.

Besides his legal and Congressional work, Mr. Fitch has given much attention to literary studies. His library, which contains the collections of both his grandfathers, Dr. Parmelee and Dr. Fitch, is very large, and is particularly rich in books relating to German literature, of which Mr. Fitch continues to be a student. Of books relating to the life and works of Goethe, Mr. Fitch has perhaps the most complete collection in this country, and he has written and lectured largely on this subject.

Mr. Fitch married November 12, 1874, Lizzie A. Cross, a daughter of the Hon. George Cross, of Morrisville, New York, and has six children.





NEW-YORK IN 1756.

The original of the subjoined letter was written by an officer of the British navy, while his ship was anchored in New-York Bay. It was purchased at the sale of the library of Henry Thomas Buckle, the historian, and is now in the possession of a gentleman of Washington, D. C.

NEW YORK, August 15, 1756.

I never was so much surprised as in finding this part of the world superior to England—the air is serene and the land fertile; peaches, nectarines, apples and all other fruits peculiar to the soil of Europe grow wild in the woods and only feed the particular beasts which inhabit them; I cannot say the taste is quite so exquisite and delicious, which I suppose may be owing to the want of grafting and transplanting—but the appearance looks so much like the golden age, and the first state of nature, that I could almost determine to spend the remainder of my life here. The river leading to the city of New-York runs a considerable way into the country, but has a bar at the mouth, which prevents the entrance of very large ships; the lands are cultivated as far as the eye can range, and the cottages inhabited by a variety of people from Germany, Holland, etc.

New-York is an island, situated about 30 miles up Hudson's River, bounded by Long Island on the east, and Staten Island on the south. The nobleness of the town surprised me more than the fertile appearance of the country. I had no idea of finding a place in America, consisting of near 2,000 houses, elegantly built of brick, raised on an eminence and the streets paved and spacious, furnished with commodious keys and warehouses and employing some hundreds of vessels in its foreign trade and fisheries—but such is this city that a very few in England can rival it in its show, gentility and hospitality. It is a royal government, and the officers appointed by the crown. There are very few Indians on this island, being all cut either off by intestine wars or diseases; the laborious people in general are *Guinea* negroes, who lie under particular restraints from the attempts they have made to massacre the inhabitants for their liberty, which is ever desired by those (you find) who never knew the enjoyment of it.

I cannot quit this colony without taking notice of a very particular cataract, which forms a prodigious arch, and (according to the eye) may fall about one

hundred and fifty feet; but what is more extraordinary, the mist, which is occasioned by the fall on a sunny day, forms a most delightful rainbow, and may be seen twelve miles off. There are romantic stories told of this cataract, but I am resolved to relate no more than I have seen. The Iroquois often appeared here on business, and their appearance is more savage than I can describe. I cannot help telling you the ceremony of burying their dead; all the relations paint their faces black, and twice a day make a most wretched lamentation over the grave; the time of mourning consists with the continuation of the black face, which is never washed, out of respect for the dead. The corpse is placed upright on a set,—and his gun, bow, arrows and money, buried with him, to furnish him with shooting implements in the next world, where they believe is more game than in *America*—and that the delightful country lies *westward*. They have priests among them, called Pawaws, who, if possible, make these wretches more ignorant, than nature intended them to be.

My stay, tho' very short here, has been attended with a most disagreeable circumstance. When about three leagues from the ship, the boat's crew (consisting of ten men) rose on me, bound me hand and foot and ran the boat on shore, where I might have perished had not two returned and unbound me, which two I brought to the ship again. They confessed that they had attempted to throw me overboard (which I never perceived), but something always prevented. Had they perpetrated their villainy, I should have died by the mouths of some thousands of sharks—as I was at that time fishing on a bank where nothing could be more numerous. This is so striking an act of Providence, that had it happened to an atheistical person, it might have been the happy means of converting him. From hence we are bound to the West Indies, which is a secret which never transpired till the day of our departure. I am a little chagrined at the circumstance, not being provided for so long a voyage.

[I am, &c.,

To H. M. Esq.,

EDWARD THOMPSON.

P. S.—We have one hundred and fifty people ill in fluxes, scurvies and fevers.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

In connection with the article on John Brown in the preceding (November) number of this MAGAZINE, it seems proper to call attention to the instructive reference to that unique incident in our country's recent history, found in Mr. Rhodes' volumes, lately issued, on the *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850*, which are calling forth so much favorable comment. His treatment of this particular episode speaks well for his judicious and impartial manner of writing history. If it is difficult in any case to be impartial, and maintain the judicial frame of mind, it is when one deals with events wherewith living generations are contemporaneous. He says: "A century may perchance pass before an historical estimate acceptable

to all lovers of liberty and justice can be made of John Brown. What infinite variety of opinions may exist of a man who on the one hand is compared to Socrates and Christ, and on the other hand to Orsini and Wilkes Booth! The likeness drawn between the old Puritan and these men who did the work of assassination revolts the muse of history; yet the comparison to Socrates and Christ strikes a discordant note. The apostle of truth and the apostle of peace are immeasurably remote from the man whose work of reform consisted in shedding blood; the teacher who gave the injunction, 'Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's,' and the philosopher whose long life was one of strict obedience to laws, are a silent rebuke to the man whose renown was gained by the breach of laws deemed sacred by his country." "And who can say," he adds, "that the proclamation of emancipation would have met as hearty a response, that northern patriots would have fought with as much zeal, the people have sustained Lincoln for the abolition of slavery as faithfully, had not John Brown suffered martyrdom in the same cause on Virginia soil?"

* * *

For a number of months past *Scribner's Magazine* has presented its readers with exceedingly graphic descriptions of "Historical Moments," the range covered including other countries than our own. In the March number the event thus signalized took place within our republic, and we deem it eminently worthy of attention. The "moment" is that of the death of the "old man eloquent," John Quincy Adams, on the very spot of the later triumphs of his career, which made him a more conspicuous figure in our country's history, and has sent his name down to posterity with a more lasting fame than the fact of his occupancy of the presidential office over a score of years before.

The article is from the pen of the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, who was speaker of the House of Representatives at the time, was an eye witness of the startling occurrence, and was, moreover, on intimate and even affectionate terms with Adams:

"On Monday morning, the 20th (of February, 1848)," writes Mr. Winthrop, "he was in his seat at the House with his proverbial punctuality. Prayers had been offered by the chaplain. The yeas and the nays had been called by the clerk, and I was proceeding to make some announcement or to put some formal question, when

Mr. Adams rose impulsively—I had almost said impetuously—with a paper in his outstretched hand, exclaiming with more than his usual earnestness and emphasis: ‘Mr. Speaker! Mr. Speaker!’ The reiteration rings again in my ears as I write these words. But before he could explain his object, or add another syllable, his hand fell to his side and he sank upon the arm of his chair, only saved from dropping to the floor by being caught by the member nearest to him. An exclamation was almost instantly heard, ‘Mr. Adams is dying!’ Business was at once suspended, and the excitement and confusion which ensued can be imagined better than described. More than two hundred representatives, in all parts of the hall and from all parts of the country, were seen rising from their seats and pressing forward toward their beloved and revered associate, almost as if it were in their power to reverse the will of God, and rescue him from the power of the great destroyer.

“Few persons of equal eminence—or of any eminence—have been distinguished by such a presence at their death scene. Fortunately there were several physicians among the members of the House. Dr. William A. Newell, afterward the governor of New Jersey, had the seat immediately in front of Mr. Adams, and took the lead in repressing the throng, securing air for the sufferer, and rendering all the medical aid which was possible. He co-operated with others in removing Mr. Adams on a sofa into the rotunda, and thence, with but little delay at my urgent instigation, into the Speaker’s official chamber.

“‘This is the end of earth,’ was heard from his lips, as he fell, or when he was placed on the little couch which was hastily prepared for him, with the addition, as was alleged, ‘I am composed,’ or ‘I am content.’ But all signs of consciousness soon ceased, and he lingered, entirely insensible, until a quarter past seven on Wednesday evening, the 23d.

“I was with him during a large part of this time, and in company with my colleagues from Massachusetts and a few others, was at his side when he ceased to breathe. Neither the House nor the Senate transacted any business during the three days, but adjourned from morning to morning, until the end came. The anniversary of Washington’s birthday was one of the intervening days, but it was recognized with few, if any, of the customary festivities. The impending death of Mr. Adams cast a gloom over the whole city.”

RECENT HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

THE FRENCH WAR AND THE REVOLUTION, by William Milligan Sloane, Ph. D., L.H.D., Professor in Princeton University. With maps. New York : Charles Scribner's Sons. 1893. (The American History Series.)

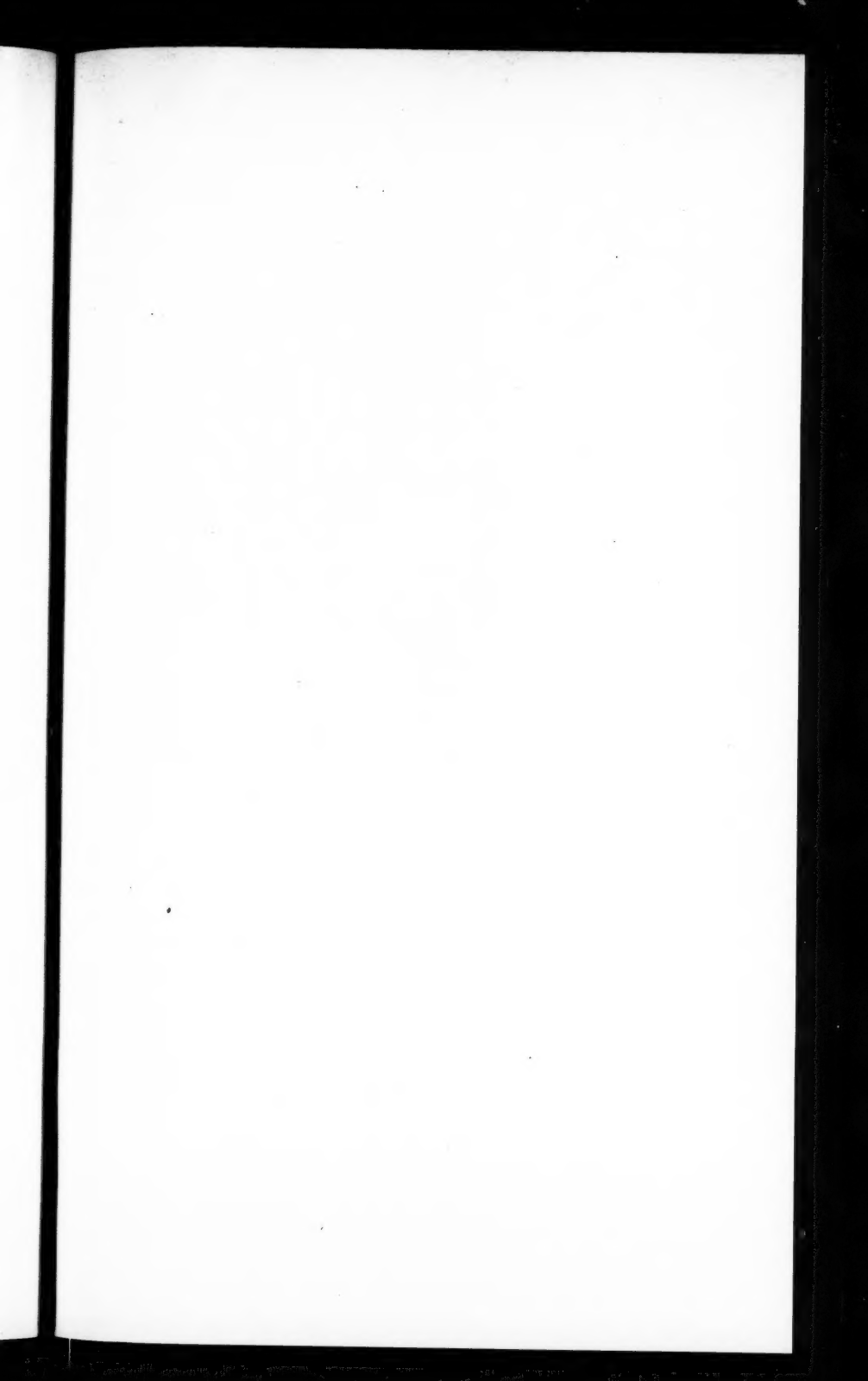
The second volume of this interesting and instructive series more than satisfies the expectations awakened by the first, Dr. Fisher's *Colonial Era*. It, of course, takes up the thread of history where the other dropped it, and presents two clearly marked and important epochs in our country's annals.

It was the French war that made possible the Revolution and the Federation. It taught the colonies what they were, or could be, to each other; they were too selfishly isolated in feeling and action before, perhaps an inevitable result of their separate origin and the varying causes for their existence. The French war, too, was to remove a threatening and disturbing element from their borders, which while it remained kept several of the strongest and most influential colonies from thinking much about any body but themselves. Imperfectly, but yet to a sensible degree, unified in action and sentiment by the war against the French and Indians; and rejoicing in the relief from threatened massacring expeditions from Canada; they were in a condition to act an independent and national part should the occasion arise therefor. The mother country, ruled by mediocre talent, under a narrow-minded, but despotically inclined king, stupidly furnished the occasion. The English nation rejoiced exceedingly over the conquest of Canada; by the irony of fate and the blunders of their own rulers, it was but the prelude to a far more serious loss.

This fact is brought out very clearly by the excellent little treatise before us. The titles of the chapters furnish a suggestion as to the mode of treatment, which rightly attributes more importance to the political and other conditions bringing about the events of the two wars which give the title to the book, than to those events themselves. Three chapters at the beginning treat respectively of "The English People in the Eighteenth Century," "Institutions of the English Colonies," and "The English and French in North America." In the course of the last chapter the author has occasion to deal with the Indians, which he does with some fullness, discussing a few of their personal traits, as well as their capacity for political and military

combinations. There is not a very marked air of admiration running through this treatment, and as to the theory of their religious ideas, in which some people recognize a rather surprising purity and spirituality, Professor Sloane has some very unmistakable words to the contrary. "The darkest form of fetichism, which some would dignify by the name of ancestor worship, was the cement of their society, but their spiritual strivings were somewhat higher in character, being a form of nature worship. Each object had its spirit, or manitou, and among these spiritual essences were orders, some regulated by locality, some by inherent inferiority or superiority, but the prevalent notion that they had a conception of one supreme personal spirit is false."

In the transition from the one war to the other, a period of about fifteen years elapses. Professor Sloane says of it: "The years from 1760 to 1775 are among the most important in the history of constitutional government, because in them was tried the issue of how far under that system laws are binding on those who have no share in making them." We find, accordingly, that the second war period is again preceded by an array of chapters treating of the political lessons which the preparation for it furnishes. They are: "A New Issue in Constitutional Government," "The Stamp Act," "Conflict of Two Theories," "The Constitutional Revolution," and "Resistance to Oppression." Synoptical as the book must necessarily be, Professor Sloane is bound to abandon that necessity when it comes to studies of the situation; for after we have had a view of Lexington and Bunker Hill, he inserts three chapters on "Overthrow of Royal Authority," "The Movement for Independence," and "Independence and Confederation." We are, of course, all interested in battles; but possibly they have had sufficient attention. But we can hardly ever get enough of a thorough study of the political philosophy of the revolutionary period. The battles have been fought and are over; the lessons in politics and patriotism have a bearing and an application for the present and for the future. We are glad to notice that Professor Sloane has no golden opinions of the alliance with France, which indeed stood us in good stead in a supreme moment of the war, but which was made serviceable even then only by the masterful genius of Washington. Yet the adverse opinion seems to have crystallized only in the title of a chapter, "Evil Effects of the Foreign Alliance," for in the chapter itself those evil effects are to be faintly inferred rather than directly indicated.





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